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In 2011 alone, over 56,000 refugees were admitted to the United States and a third of these individuals were under the age of 18 (Martin & Yankay, 2012). Researchers have found that the social capital developed through close and confiding relationships is instrumental in the academic outcomes of refugee youth (Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007; Kovacev & Shute, 2004) and adolescents from diverse ethnic backgrounds use social capital as a resource in identity construction (Holland, Reynolds, & Weller, 2007). Social networking sites (SNS) are now used by adolescents to communicate a sense of belongingness related to their ethnic group (Grasmuck, Martin, & Zhao, 2009) and in studies with college students from the United States have been linked to the establishment of social capital (Ellison et al., 2007; Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2011).

The purpose of the current study was to explore the participants' social network composition on Facebook based on whether their networks were primarily composed of peers with the same ethnic identity (same-ethnic peers) or from different ethnic backgrounds (cross-ethnic peers). Specifically, the researcher aimed to investigate whether Facebook was primarily used to facilitate the development of bonding social capital with peers with the same ethnic identity. It also was designed to explore the relationship between Facebook use, ethnic identity, bonding social capital, and school adjustment in the sample of 40 Karen newcomer refugee adolescents living in the United States.

Overall, the researcher found that newcomer refugee Karen students are utilizing Facebook to develop friendships with individuals that share the same ethnicity and with peers from different ethnicities. There was a significant relationship between bonding social capital and school adjustment; however, there were not differences in bonding social capital based on the composition of participants' peer networks. The final model demonstrated that amount of Facebook use was a significant predictor of school adjustment scores and that bonding social capital mediates this relationship. It appears that higher levels of bonding social capital are predictive of higher levels of school adjustment, and Facebook usage may actually decrease bonding social capital in these students.

Important implications exist for school counselors working with newcomer refugee students. Given the importance of bonding social capital on school adjustment, school counselors should consider ways to foster peer relationships for newcomer refugee students. Results from the current study suggest that higher amounts of Facebook use may actually be preventing newcomer refugee students from developing close peer relationships, underscoring the potential importance of school counselors fostering relationship building within the school environment.

SOCIAL NETWORKING AND THE SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT OF KAREN REFUGEE YOUTH FROM BURMA: DETERMINING THE EFFECTS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY, BONDING SOCIAL CAPITAL, AND FACEBOOK USE

by

Lucy D. Lewis

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Approved by

Dr. Kelly Wester
Committee Co-Chair

Dr. José Villalba
Committee Co-Chair

In loving memory of my father, Forrest Ray Lewis, who taught me the value of hard work, education, and a commitment to help one another and to all those who have left home, whether by choice or necessity, working to create community and belonging wherever they are.

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation, written by Lucy D. Lewis, has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Committee Co-Chair Dr. Kelly Wester

Committee Co-Chair Dr. José Villalba

Committee Members Dr. Terry Ackerman

Dr. Christopher Poulos

_____

Date of Acceptance by Committee

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

School counselors are responsible for maintaining accurate knowledge and awareness of the rapidly changing cultural composition of schools (Griffin & Steen, 2011; Park-Taylor, Walsh, & Ventura, 2007; Suárez-Orozco, Onaga, & de Lardemelle, 2010). The cultural make-up of classrooms in the United States reflects the large number of immigrant families arriving annually, resulting in the largest immigration period in United States history occurring over the past decade (Martin & Yankay, 2012). In 2011 alone, over 56,000 refugees were admitted to the United States and a third of these individuals were under the age of 18 (Martin & Yankay, 2012). Currently, one in three refugees resettling in the United States are from Burma (Martin & Yankay, 2012), with a significant portion of these identifying as Karen, a large minority group within Burma with their own language, politics, and religious traditions (Mitschke, Mitschke, Slater, & Teboh, 2011). Karen adolescents are now enrolling in schools across the United States and their parents have reported sacrificing personal opportunities so that their children could benefit from educational experiences in the U.S. (Mitschke et al., 2011).

Upon arrival in the United States, many refugee adolescents are at risk to develop acculturative stress related to the extensive barriers encountered, including separation from support networks, unfamiliarity with customs, lack of English proficiency, and discrimination and prejudice (Chuang, 2010; Davies, 2008; Villalba, 2009; Yakushko,

Watson, & Thompson, 2008). Refugee adolescents are particularly poised to develop higher amounts of acculturative stress given the numerous developmental transitions they must also negotiate during this time period (Anstiss & Ziaian, 2010; García-Coll & Magnusson, 1997; Phinney, Lochner, & Murphy, 1990). One type of acculturative stress for adolescent refugees is the establishment of friendships with school age peers (Chuang, 2010; Kovacev & Shute, 2004). Typical to most teenagers, adolescent refugees report that they are more likely to seek help from friends to deal with the psychosocial stress of resettlement than parents, siblings, or extended family (Anstiss & Ziaian, 2010). Peer relationships have the potential to provide refugee students with access to novel information regarding the transition to life in the United States, along with provisions of social support and a sense of belonging (Kovacev & Shute, 2004). These relational outcomes are referred to as bridging and bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000). Therefore, peer relationships have the ability to provide resources for refugee adolescents; however, difficulty adjusting to the language and culture in school settings often results in an inability to establish friendships at school (Chuang, 2010).

Social networking sites (SNS) have become a stage for the facilitation and development of adolescent relationships and an outlet for identity construction (Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, 2008; Zhao, Grasmuck, & Martin, 2008). The SNS Facebook enables users to create a profile to display information on points of potential connection such as interests, background information, and relationship ties (Facebook, 2012). Beneficial relational outcomes associated with SNS use include the ability to enhance local and long distance social relationships and communication of social support

(Ledbetter et al.; 2011; Mansson & Myers, 2011). As the world becomes more globally connected through SNS, opportunities arise for refugee adolescents to use SNS to forge friendships with members of their cultural group dispersed around the world. Facebook use may influence the identity process of newcomers because of the ability for adolescent refugees to reconstitute a social network with friends remaining in refugee camps, peers in their home country, and same culture friends unknown prior to arrival in the United States. Through the development of peer relationships on Facebook, refugee students may increase levels of bonding social capital resulting in support resources that could influence ethnic identity development and assist in school adjustment. To date, no studies have directly explored the relationship between Facebook use and bonding social capital for refugee youth. Furthermore, the impact of bonding social capital and ethnic identity on school adjustment has not been studied specifically for refugee adolescents; however, this relationship has been studied in non-refugee populations (Liebkind, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Solheim, 2004). Additionally, there are no studies examining these constructs specifically with Karen refugee adolescents.

In this chapter, a rationale for a study examining the relationships between Facebook use, bonding social capital, and ethnic identity on school adjustment is presented. Second, a statement of the problem is provided. Third, the purpose of the study is described. Fourth, research questions are presented. Fifth, the significance of the study is described. Sixth, key terms are defined, followed by the organization of the study.

Overview of Related Literature

In this section, the literature on refugee adolescents, social capital, ethnic identity, social networking sites, and school adjustment is outlined. Seminal articles described in this section will lay out a foundation for why these constructs should be examined in conjunction with one another.

Refugee Adolescents

Refugee adolescents are a growing segment of youth currently residing in the United States. According to The Refugee Act of 1980, refugees are individuals who experience or fear persecution in their home country due to cultural or political factors and are unable to return (Martin & Yankay, 2012). Refugees are one subset of the larger immigrant group collectively referred to as newcomers. A newcomer has been defined as a first generation immigrant or refugee (Suárez-Orozco, Pimentel, & Martin, 2009). Throughout this dissertation, the term newcomer refugee will be used. Previous research with adolescent refugees has largely been subsumed under studies with immigrant populations (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2000; Liebkind et al., 2004; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). Only a few researchers have investigated or reviewed the literature on the transition outcomes for adolescent refugees (Davies, 2008; Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007; Kovacev & Shute, 2004).

Although studies exist that examine the resettlement experiences of Asian refugees, few look specifically at the experiences of Karen refugees. Unlike other refugee groups, Kenny and Lockwood-Kenny (2011) determined that the Karen have a tendency to relocate from their first resettlement communities in order to be closer to Karen

resettled in other areas. Karen parents report valuing education (Mitschke et al., 2011), yet Karen students often do not graduate from high school (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011). Early withdrawal from high school may be attributed to the fact that Karen adolescents are typically older than their school age peers and desire to start working to earn money early on (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011). Given that Karen refugees are among the fastest growing refugee groups in the United States (Worldwide Refugee Admissions Processing System, 2012), it is pivotal that research extends to this population in order to facilitate successful school completion in the United States.

Social Capital

Researchers in various academic arenas have employed numerous conceptual definitions of social capital; however, the main tenet of social capital is the resources provided by networks of relationships (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu (1986) defined social capital as "the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly useable in the short or long term" (p. 251). Bourdieu's description of social capital is widely recognized in the literature and employed in studies involving the application of social capital with adolescents in educational settings (Choi, Kim, Sung, & Sohn, 2011; Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Naidoo, 2009; Tomai et al., 2010; Valenzuela, Park, & Kee, 2009).

Intuitively, just as differing types of social relationships exist, so too do differing forms of social capital. Most of the current literature on social capital focuses on the two distinctions of social capital described by Putnam (2000): bridging and bonding.

Outcomes associated with bonding social capital are subsumed under the category of psychosocial outcomes and include constructs such as social support (Crosnoe, Cavanagh, & Elder, 2003; Putnam, 2000). Bridging social capital is linked to instrumental outcomes such as acquiring new information (Crosnoe et al., 2003; Putnam, 2000).

Granovetter's (1973) description of strong and weak relationship ties provides additional insight into the distinctions of bridging and bonding social capital. Bonding social capital emphasizes relationships that possess relational closeness and are based on strong ties. Bridging social capital, on the other hand, is associated with less dense, weaker ties. These distinctions have often placed researchers into two opposing camps: rational choice-theorists (Putnam, 2000) and structuralists (Lin, 2001). Rational-choice theorists support the strength of strong ties argument, believing that the density and homogeneity of bonded networks offer greater social capital value; whereas, structuralists support the strength of weak ties position arguing that diffuse, heterogeneous networks possess greater social capital (Lin, 2001; Putnam, 2000; Ryabov, 2009).

Given the importance of relationships on newcomer's successful resettlement, researchers have begun to examine the networks and the social capital that results from these networks for minority youth (Bottrell, 2009; Holland, 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). Researchers examining the social capital development of ethnically diverse adolescents have found the distinctions of bridging and bonding to be a useful way to conceptualize social capital resources; however, this dichotomy may be overly simplistic and fail to consider the ways that bridging and bonding social capital mutually influence

one another (Bottrell, 2009; Holland, Reynolds, & Weller, 2007). For example, Holland et al. (2007) found bonding social capital developed through same-culture relationships, resources, and experiences helped Caribbean youth living in the United Kingdom bridge new friendships with peers outside their cultural group. Bottrell (2009) found similar results in a group of economically disadvantaged youth living in Australia and noted that bridging social capital is often limited within these students' school environments. These studies highlight the potential importance of close-knit, homogenous groups on the academic success of minority students.

Other researchers have focused more on bridging social capital established by heterogeneous, weak tie relationships. In one of the only studies examining the social networks of refugee youth, Wells (2011) summarized that weak ties were more influential in the establishment of social networks for refugee adolescents living in London but did not provide a definition of what constituted strong versus weak ties nor provide information about how long participants had been residing in the United Kingdom.

Furthermore, many of the researchers examining social capital in K-12 schools have focused on social capital established between parents and educational stakeholders (Coleman, 1988; Kao & Tienda, 1995); fewer researchers have examined the social capital established between students and their peers. In the limited studies that have examined the outcomes of peer social relationships there was an association between these relationships and positive academic outcomes (Crosnoe et al., 2003; Ryabov, 2009). Ryabov (2009) determined that the average achievement of a student's peer network has

a positive effect on both educational achievement and attainment. Crosnoe et al. (2003) found that a relationship with academically oriented peers served as a protective factor for students in low performing schools. Given that the relocation process for newcomer students results in separation from family members and close friends and that refugee students report seeking social support from peers over other individuals, refugee youth may benefit from the strengthening of their social capital through the development of peer relationships.

In conclusion, few studies exist examining the social capital development of refugee students. According to Holland et al. (2007), researchers have tended to place more emphasis on the advantages of bridging over bonding social capital, especially for individuals in disadvantaged communities. Given that researchers recently have found that close and confiding relationships and the social support provided by these are instrumental in the academic engagement of newcomer youth, further studies are needed to examine the impact of this form of bonding social capital (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009).

To date there have been no studies that have specifically examined social capital acquired by Karen refugee youth. Given that social capital is linked to positive outcomes such as greater wellbeing (Almgren, Magarti, & Mogford, 2009), participation in civic and political activities (Valenzuela et al., 2009), adjustment to school (Naidoo, 2009), and college application rates (Bryan et al., 2011), it is crucial that researchers examine the social capital development of Karen refugee students. Additional research is needed with newcomer refugee youth to provide a more detailed understanding of the social networks of these students and they types of social capital that arise from these

relationships so that school counselors can anticipate ways to meet the challenges encountered by these students when transitioning to the United States.

Ethnic Identity

Resettled refugee adolescents have reported that identity and relationship development are two of the major developmental tasks complicated by the resettlement process (Barron et al., 2007; Nguyen, 2007). Ethnic identity is an important construct to examine when investigating the adjustment of refugee youth due to its association with life satisfaction (Vera et al., 2011), positive psychological wellbeing (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001), school adjustment (Liebkind et al., 2004), and the potential of ethnic identity to mitigate the deleterious impacts of discrimination and other acculturation stress (Vera et al., 2011).

Absent in the literature, however, is a joint examination of social capital and ethnic identity. Holland and colleagues (2007) highlighted that many researchers have not considered how adolescents utilize social capital as a resource in ethnic identity formation. Researchers who have examined these constructs together found that social capital influences identity development and youth use it as a resource in identity construction (Holland et al., 2007). Bottrell (2009) determined that social capital acquired from peer relationships is particularly significant for adolescents who possess a minority ethnic identity and have negative school experiences related to this identity. Bonding social capital developed through peer friendships was an important contributor to positive identity expression. Newcomer refugee students who may experience discrimination and

struggle to develop peer relationships at school may benefit from other avenues of social capital development.

Social Networking Sites

According to the Pew Research Center (Lenhart et al., 2011), approximately 80% of adolescents between the ages of 12 and 17 living in the United States have active social networking accounts and 90% of these are Facebook accounts. Facebook is the most popular SNS in the United States and globally with upwards of 900 million active monthly users worldwide resulting in over 125 billion "Friend" connections (Facebook, 2012). According to the Facebook home page, the purpose of the site is the following: "Giving people the power to share and make the world more open and connected. People use Facebook to stay connected with friends and family, to discover what is going on in the world, and to share and express what matters to them " (Facebook, 2012). As such, the site contains features to help facilitate this connection and sharing through the ability to post pictures, share pictures, write comments on others' "Walls," send messages, and create and monitor "Status Updates" (Ledbetter et al., 2011).

Adolescents have quickly added Facebook to their repertoire of communication modalities, spending as much as 3 hours daily specifically on SNSs (Baker & White, 2010). Researchers have found that adolescents' online presentation mirrors that of their offline world (Back et al., 2010; Moreno et al., 2011; Wright & Li, 2011) and that the "Friends" adolescents communicate with via Facebook are largely the ones they communicate with offline (Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, 2008). Therefore, adolescents use social networking sites to extend and replicate relationships in their offline lives

(Mikami, Szwedo, Allen, Evans, & Hare, 2010; Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, 2008). This research, however, tends to be limited to adolescents and young adults born and raised in the United States. Little is known about the role of Facebook in the identity development and relationship construction of newcomer refugee adolescents.

A study with refugee youth living in London found that some participants logged onto Facebook as a way to keep their geographically distant relationship ties active (Wells, 2011). Australian researchers determined that young adult refugees living in Australia were able to add Facebook quickly to their communicative repertoire, even if they did not possess an account prior to resettlement. In as little as 3 months, participants had quickly accrued a network of old and new friends on the site (Sturgess & Phillips, 2010). These new Facebook Friends consisted primarily of individuals who were members of the participant's cultural community displaced around the world.

Given the widespread usage of Facebook and the relative ease that refugees have in learning the skills necessary to utilize Facebook (Sturgess & Phillips, 2010), it becomes critical for researchers to examine the network characteristics and potential benefits of Facebook use with adolescent newcomer refugees. Researchers who have examined the social relationships of refugee youth have only examined geographically close ties and there is a dearth of research examining the development of relationship ties online. To date there have been no qualitative or quantitative investigations on the social networking use of refugee adolescents living in the United States and little is known about the composition of social networks acquired through Facebook.

School Adjustment

Zhou (1997) posited that one of the most significant determinants of newcomers' transition to life in the United States is related to their school success, and this has been echoed in other studies examining the influence of ethnic identity on school adjustment (Liebkind et al., 2004; Phinney et al., 2001). School adjustment is an important indicator of psychological adaptation because acculturation problems of immigrant adolescents are manifested at school (Phinney et al., 2001). School adjustment is a multifaceted task involving adaptation to the intellectual, socioemotional, and behavioral demands of school (Chin & Yu, 2008; Liebkind et al., 2004; Wentzel, 1999).

Bonding social capital alleviates and lessens the negative effects of stressful events because of the social support it provides (Garcia-Reid, 2007; Wentzel, 1999; Zhou & Bankston, 1994). The positive associations between bonding social capital and school adjustment are aligned with the immigrant optimism hypothesis (Kao & Tienda, 1995) developed to explain the positive school achievement of immigrant youth. This hypothesis frames social capital as an important resource for immigrant youth in achieving educational success; however, it tends to focus more on parental rather than peer relationships.

Kao and Tienda (1995) conducted research with first generation and second-generation immigrant youth and found support for the immigrant optimism hypothesis as a way to explain why some immigrant students fare better in school than native born students. The authors suggested that newcomers may actually be more committed to the educational process because of strongly held beliefs related to the importance of

education in achieving financial stability and success. Many newcomer families possess an intense hope about creating a better life in the United States and transmit these beliefs to their children, who in turn have a strong desire to be successful in school to make their families and communities proud and establish a better quality of life in the United States (Rosenbaum & Rochford, 2008; Zhou & Bankston, 1994). An instillation of shared values and beliefs creates an environment of care and support in these bonded communities and highlights the protective role of bonded communities on the acculturation experience of immigrants and refugees (Turner & Fozdar, 2010; Zhou & Bankston, 1994).

Some researchers, however, have found that newcomer students have poorer levels of school adjustment. Unlike the results of Liebkind et al. (2004), Chin and Yu (2008) found that fifth- and sixth-grade students of immigrant mothers living in Taiwan had poorer school adjustment than non-newcomer students. Chuang (2010) found that newcomer students reported adjustment problems related to academic performance, peer exclusion, and cultural practices and norms. These studies indicate that there may be a factor other than newcomer status impacting the school adjustment of newcomer youth**.**

In an effort to explore related factors, researchers have examined the ethnic identity of newcomers when considering school adjustment. Researchers examining this construct have found mixed results. Phinney et al. (2001) provided a review of the literature related to identity and school adjustment and summarized that a bicultural orientation combining identification with national and ethnic identities was associated with better school success. Researchers have tried to establish whether one of these

identities is a better predictor of school adjustment with mixed results. Nguyen, Messé, and Stollack (1999) determined that school adjustment is best predicted by immigrant youth who identify with a national identity. Horenczyk and Ben-Shalom (2001) found that ethnic identity was positively associated with one index of school adjustment related to peer relationships, whereas national identity was positively associated with both academic and peer relationships. Furthermore, Liebkind et al. (2004) found that national identity had no significant relationship to school adjustment for immigrant youth. Of the studies mentioned, all used immigrant youth as participants; however, none specified whether any of the youth were refugees.

Statement of the Problem

Within the past 5 years, social capital development has been extended to Facebook, linking Facebook use to gains in social capital with diverse samples of college students (Ellison et al., 2007; Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011; Valenzuela et al., 2009). Ellison et al. (2007) and Ellison, Steinfield, et al. (2011) established that Facebook supplements relationships between close friends and predicts levels of bonding social capital. Researchers examining the social capital development of high school students on social networking sites have suggested that these sites facilitate the development of student relationships (Tomai et al., 2010), yet absent in the literature related to the transition process of newcomer youth is a focus on how social networking sites can facilitate the development and maintenance of relationships, especially for refugee students.

Researchers such as Suárez-Orozco et al. (2010) have implicated school counselors in the offline social network development of newcomer students, highlighting the role of school counselors in accessing information regarding network size and composition, particularly related to same culture or cross-culture peer relationships. Research on the specific composition of adolescent refugee's online networks remains limited and a significant gap exists on the impact of these relationships on resettlement outcomes such as school adjustment. Given that many foreign-born youth in the United States do not graduate from high school (Child Trends Databank, 2011) and that Karen youth in particular may forego high school graduation in order to achieve employment (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011), research examining potential predictors of school adjustment would be advantageous.

Furthermore, there is still little known about the development of bridging and bonding social capital for individuals from diverse cultural groups. In one of the only cross-cultural studies comparing bridging and bonding social capital on SNS, Choi et al. (2011) investigated differences in social capital between university students born and living in Korea and university students born and living in the United States. The composition of SNS for United States students included larger networks with a greater proportion of weak ties, whereas Korean students had much smaller networks with an almost equal ratio of strong to weak ties (Choi et al., 2011). When comparing levels of bonding and bridging social capital, students from the United States had significantly higher levels of bridging social capital, whereas levels of bonding social capital did not differ among the two groups (Choi et al., 2011). The researchers concluded that cultural

factors (i.e., individualistic versus collectivistic orientation) could be used to describe the differences in network composition and social capital accumulation for the two groups (Choi et al., 2011). Choi et al. (2011) did not take into account the intersectionalities that may exist within cultural groups such as family orientation, place of birth, relocation to another country, or relocation from school (Choi et al., 2011), factors with particular relevance for refugee students. Little is known about how refugee students living in the United States who are trying to adjust to a different culture may compose their social networks online and the resulting social capital that may accrue from these networks.

Additionally, in almost all studies examining the development of social capital the constructs of bridging or bonding are utilized to explain the differences in resources. Researchers have a tendency to view these constructs as separate and distinct; however, there is an emerging trend in the literature that highlights the overlap in these constructs. Newer researchers have suggested that newcomers must first bond then bridge (Holland et al., 2007). Vitak, Ellison, and Steinfield (2011) concluded that previous researchers have overlooked the potential positive outcomes of bonding social capital in favor of bridging social capital outcomes. This has important implications for refugee youth in particular, whose strong relationship ties become geographically dispersed due to resettlement. Therefore, information is still needed to ascertain the role of bonding social capital on the cultural identity development and school adjustment of refugee youth.

Given the multifaceted nature of refugee resettlement, it is pivotal that studies examining adaptation outcomes such as school adjustment reflect the complex development of adolescent refugees. An ability to investigate the nuances of identity

development, social capital, and SNS use will provide researchers and school counselors a point of entry for engaging in research that will promote successful identity development and facilitate school adjustment for refugee students.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the social network composition of newcomer refugee Karen students on Facebook based on whether their networks are primarily composed of peers with the same ethnic identity (same-ethnic peers) or peers with a different ethnic identity (cross-ethnic peers). Specifically, the researcher aims to investigate whether Facebook is primarily used by newcomer refugee Karen high school students to facilitate the development of bonding social capital with peers with the same ethnic identity. Additionally, the researcher will explore the relationships between Facebook use, ethnic identity, bonding social capital, and school adjustment.

Research Questions

The main issue to be addressed is determining the relationship between Facebook use, bonding social capital, ethnic identity, and school adjustment. As an initial step, the proposed study examines Facebook use among Karen adolescent newcomer refugee students and attempts to determine whether or not the constructs of ethnic identity and bonding social capital influence the school adjustment of these students. To that end, the following research questions will be addressed:

1. What is the size (numerical counts of friends) of Karen refugee adolescents' friendships at school and on Facebook?

2. What is the composition of Karen refugee adolescents' friendships (ratio of same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friends; ratio of close/same-ethnic friends versus close/cross-ethnic friends)?
3. What are the mean differences in bonding social capital for individuals with greater numbers of same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friendships on Facebook?
4. What are the relationships between bonding social capital, Facebook use, ethnic identity, and school adjustment?

Figure 1 depicts the hypothesized path model that the researcher will examine.

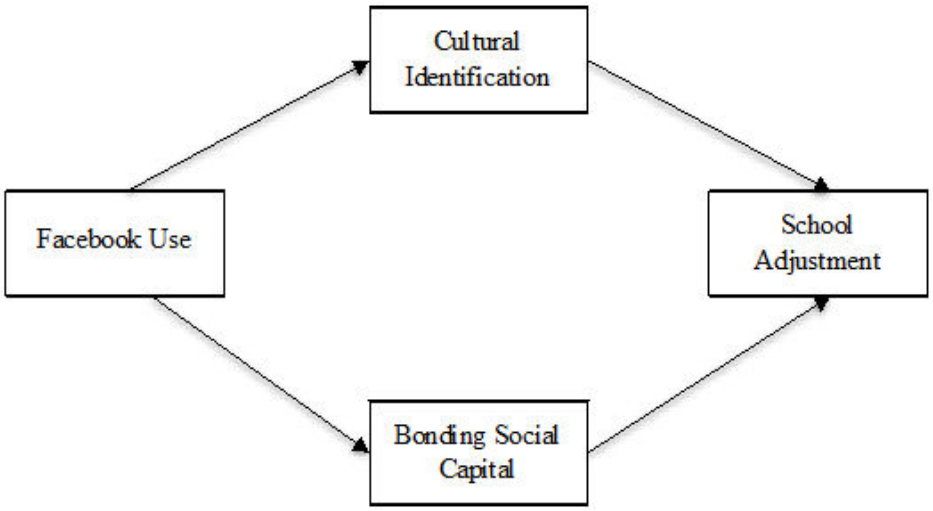


Figure 1. Hypothesized path model.

Need for the Study

Findings from this study have important counseling implications for researchers, counselor educators, and professional school counselors working with newcomer refugee adolescents. School counselors are uniquely situated to assist refugee students in accessing resources and providing strategies to increase the likelihood that they will

successfully adjust to school. According to the American School Counseling Association National Standards (ASCA, 2010), school counselors are responsible for providing comprehensive services related to academic preparation and personal/social growth for all students. Specifically, the standards address the role of the school counselor in helping students locate information and support from peers and in developing and establishing friendships. Given the importance of peer relationships on adjustment to school (Chuang, 2010), results from this study would inform school counselors of potential practices and interventions that could benefit newcomer refugee youth through a consideration of the important role of peer social capital.

School counselors can design counseling interventions, programs, and lessons to facilitate social capital building incorporating online social networking sites that would allow newcomer students to connect with one another (Ryabov, 2009). Historically, there has been an emphasis on the development of cross-ethnic relationships for newcomer students. The importance of cross-ethnic relationships is not to be underscored; however, it is important that school counselors begin to understand the importance of same-ethnic friendships and their cultivation.

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this study, the relevant terms are defined as follows:

Social capital refers to "the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly useable in the short or long term" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 251).

Bonding social capital refers to social capital that accrues from connections among strongly tied members, such as one's family and close friends, that is associated with social support (Ellison, Lampe, Steinfield, & Vitak, 2011; Putnam, 2000).

Ethnic identity refers to "a sense of self as a group member that develops over time through an active process of investigation, learning, and commitment" (Phinney & Ong, 2007, p. 279).

Cross-ethnic friend refers to a peer that participants identify as belonging to a culture different from their own.

Same-ethnic friend refers to a peer that participants identify as belonging to their own cultural group.

Newcomer refugee refers to any student who has resided in the United States for at least 1 year but no more than 6 years. This definition has been used in other studies with refugee students (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). The 6-year distinction ensures that participants are first-generation refugees (Ryabov, 2009).

Karen adolescent refugee refers to adolescents (males and females) from Burma ranging from 13-21 years old, who have resided in the United States for at least 1 year and no more than 6 years, and are enrolled in a public or private school in grades 9-12.

Social networking site refers to a

> web-based service that allows individuals to 1) constitute a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, 2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, 3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within a system. (Boyd & Ellison, 2007, p. 12)

For the purposes of this study the social networking site Facebook will be used.

School adjustment refers to adaptation to the academic and socio-emotional demands of school. This definition is based on a sociocultural model of school adjustment that frames adjustment in the context of social relationships and environments (Wentzel, 1999), and is characterized by three factors: peer relationships, academic and disciplinary difficulties, and teacher/student relationships (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group [CPRRG], 1997).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

In Chapter I, the purpose of the study on Facebook use, cultural identity, bonding social capital, and school adjustment for Karen adolescent newcomer refugees was presented. In this chapter, the literature on adolescent refugees and particularly Karen adolescent refugees will be examined. Additionally, information on the role of cultural identity and bonding social capital on resettlement outcomes will be described, focusing on how these constructs relate to school adjustment. A critique of studies examining cultural identity development and bonding social capital for minority and immigrant youth will be presented. To address the scholastic needs of Karen newcomer refugee youth, information on how social networking sites are related to each of the constructs will be outlined. A summary is provided at the end of the chapter on the relationship between social networking use, bonding social capital, cultural identity, and school adjustment. Justification is provided for the focus of this study on Karen adolescent newcomer refugees.

Refugee Resettlement

A newcomer has been defined as a first generation immigrant or refugee (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). Immigrants and refugees share the mutual experience of transitioning to a new country; however, there are important characteristics that distinguish these two groups. The main distinction is related to the nature of departure

from the home country. The migration experience of immigrants has traditionally been viewed as a voluntary departure from their home country in search of a better life in the United States (Chung, Bemak, Ortiz, & Sandoval-Perez, 2008). According to the Immigration and Nationality Act, immigrants are broadly categorized as any alien living in the United States (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2013). Refugees are individuals who are unable to return to their country-of-origin due to persecution or fear of persecution because of their cultural or political beliefs (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2013). As the above definition indicates, refugees are forced to flee their home country and seek refuge in another country for safety reasons (Chung et al., 2008).

There are distinct features of refugee resettlement that have been associated with psychosocial and instrumental outcomes different than those of other immigrant groups (García-Coll & Magnuson, 1997). These differences are related to political, social, cultural, and historical processes that impact the pre-migration and post-migration experiences of refugees. Pre-migration experiences of refugees include a high likelihood of experiencing or witnessing trauma including: war, natural disasters, physical violence, and sexual violence (Bemak & Chung, 2005). Refugees are often abruptly separated from their familial and support networks and many must leave immediate family members behind when they resettle to the United States (Suárez-Orozco, Qin, & Amthor, 2008).

Post-migration experiences include reception in the host country influenced by resettlement policies. Unlike immigrants, refugees arrive in the United States through the assistance of several government entities and polices regulate the number of arrivals each

year. In 2011, over 56,000 refugees were admitted to the United States (Martin & Yankay, 2012). Historically, refugee arrivals to the United States were largely from European countries but recent decades have seen a shift in demographics. Large numbers of refugees are now arriving from Southeast Asian countries and the Middle East. In 2011, the countries of nationality with the largest numbers of refugee arrivals included Burma (30%), Bhutan (26.6%), and Iraq (16.7%; Martin & Yankay, 2012). Typically, in these countries collectivism is valued over individualism. Given that these refugee groups are settling in the United States, a country where individualism is touted as the norm, a potential divide exists between the values of the receiving country and the refugees that are entering (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010).

Karen refugees from Burma are one group of Southeast Asian refugees. One in three refugees resettling in the United States within the past year were from Burma (Martin & Yankay, 2012). The Karen are the second-largest minority group from Burma with their own language, customs, and cultural beliefs. Currently, the Karen language is now one of the three most widely spoken languages among incoming refugees to the United States (Worldwide Refugee Admissions Processing System, 2012).

History of the Karen

The Karen organized and formed the Karen National Union (KNU) within Burma in 1949 to fight for an independent Karen state. For a period of time in the 1970s and 1980s, the KNU controlled the government in the hills region of Burma (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011). The Burmese military launched a major offensive in the 1990s against the KNU, forcing the Karen to flee across the border to Thailand, many to refugee

camps. Since that time, the Burmese government participated in an ethnic cleansing of the Karen (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011), resulting in genocide, rape, and destruction of Karen villages (Mitschke et al., 2011). Often times, Karen citizens were forced to negotiate the demands of two opposing armies: the KNU and the Burmese State Peace and Developmental Council (SPDC). Many of these citizens survived by relocating to other areas inside Burma and subsisted off of slash and burn farming (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011).

Karen relocation to refugee camps on the Thailand border is usually viewed as a last result to ensure the safety of individuals and their families (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011). Nine refugee camps operate across the Thai-Burma border and over 100,000 Karen reside there, a small number of who qualify for refugee resettlement in the United States (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011; Mitschke et al., 2011). Most of these numbers reside at Mae La, the largest Thai refugee camp (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011). As of 2009, close to 40,000 people were living in Mae La. The camp provides some services that are not available to the Karen outside of refugee camps such as: safety, food, medical care, clothing, and education. Although schooling is not extensive, Karen parents have reported entering the camps specifically to obtain an education for their children (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011).

Kenny and Lockwood-Kenny (2011) determined that many Karen choose to apply for resettlement in the United States as an avenue to escape the conditions of the refugee camp, rather than a desire to live in another country. Refugees within Mae La have reported an overwhelming sense of limited freedom and lack of opportunity (Kenny &

Lockwood-Kenny, 2011). Unable to obtain work outside of the camp or practice their farming backgrounds, many individuals feel trapped inside the refugee camps (Mitschke et al., 2011). Additionally, the close quarters, lack of freedom, and feelings of restlessness (Mitschke et al., 2011) can lead to violence and there have been instances of domestic violence, drug abuse, and rape in the camps (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011).

Refugee resettlement to the United States occurs in one of three ways. Individuals must either be referred by a member of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) or the American embassy, a referral from a family member already living in the United States, or through recognition as a member of a designated group (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011). Currently, Karen refugees are recognized by the United States government as a designated nationality able to achieve refugee status (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011). The resettlement process, however, can take a lengthy amount of time and many individuals struggle with the decision to leave or stay (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011; Mitschke et al., 2011).

Adolescent Refugee Experience

Numbers indicate that there are approximately 1.6 million refugee youth from ages 12-17 worldwide (UNHCR, 2013). The adolescent refugee experience is different than those of adults or younger children. Researchers have indicated that adolescence is a particularly difficult time period to transition and is associated with the likelihood of experiencing higher amounts of acculturative stress (García-Coll & Magnusson, 1997; Phinney et al., 1990; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). One reason for this is that the refugee

experience is inherently one of reestablishing a sense of belonging, a developmental theme that also is contained within the adolescent experience. Anstiss and Ziaian (2010) found that refugee adolescents living in Australia reported acculturative stress related to the multitude of transitions experienced including: economic difficulties, separation from support networks, school problems, and intergenerational conflict.

There is little known specifically about newcomer Karen adolescent refugees. The few researchers that have investigated the refugee experience of Karen youth qualitatively have determined that many do not complete high school because of a desire to work and provide financially for their families (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011). This is concurrent with literature on minority youth, indicating over 25% do not graduate from high school (Child Trends Databank, 2011).

Researchers have determined that there is a lack of mental health services for refugee youth and an underutilization of services when available (Anstiss & Ziaian, 2010). The physical and mental health of refugees is often examined as an indicator of successful acculturation (Schwartz et al., 2010). Burmese refugee adolescents have reported difficulties negotiating differing cultural values and identities (Barron et al., 2007; Nguyen, 2007); however, there is still little known about their adjustment to school.

Acculturation

The increasing numbers of immigrants and refugee arrivals in the United States has paralleled the increase on scholarly research on the acculturation process (Schwartz et al., 2010). Within the past decade, the amount of research articles published on

acculturation has almost tripled since the 1990s (Schwartz et al., 2010). When newcomers arrive in a new country they bring with them not only a desire for a better life for their children, but also their language, beliefs, traditions, and values (Ruiz, Maggi, & Yusim, 2011).

The dominant perspective that permeated acculturation research in the 1960s was classical assimilationist theory, or the idea that newcomers must vanquish the traditions and culture of their home country in order to adopt the new culture of the host country. This perspective has been referred to as straight-line assimilation and is a unidimensional approach to the acculturation process (Schwartz et al., 2010; Zhou & Bankston, 1994). This perspective was mainly applied to the experiences of European immigrants and did not seem to fit the newer wave of Latino and Southeast Asian immigrants arriving in larger numbers after the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act (Portes & Zhou, 1993). In general, European immigrants had racial and cultural characteristics more closely mirroring those of the dominant culture already in the United States, allowing quicker absorption into the social milieu (Rothe, Pumariega, & Sabagh, 2011). Newcomers arriving in the 1970s and 1980s were predominantly from non-Western cultures and faced differing acculturation experiences than European immigrants due to the color of their skin.

In the 1980's the work of Berry (1984) and other acculturation researchers began to consider a more complex way of conceptualizing the acculturation process. Berry (1984) conceptualized two dimensions of acculturation that allow for an individual to simultaneously negotiate and/or adopt cultural values of the receiving country while also

maintaining or preserving cultural traditions of the home country. Berry's model results in four acculturation strategies: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization (Berry, 1984).

Integration is the category that describes individuals who adopt a strong identification with both the home country and the receiving country (Berry, 1984). Assimilation is the category that depicts individuals who adopt a strong identification with the receiving country but a weak identification with the home country; whereas, separation describes individuals with the opposite profile possessing a strong identification with the home country but a weak identification with the receiving country. Finally, marginalization describes individuals who reject identification with both the home and receiving countries (Berry, 1984).

While Berry's model and other two-dimensional models of acculturation provided a new dimension to conceptualizing acculturation, they have been criticized for failing to consider contextual factors inherent in the resettlement process, such as attitudes of the receiving country towards immigrants and refugees (Schwartz et al., 2010). The acculturation process is a reciprocal one between the majority and minority groups, with each group being impacted by interactions with the other. The process brings about both cultural and psychological changes between cultural groups (Ruiz et al., 2011). Beginning in the 1990s, researchers such as Portes and Rumbaut (1996) began to consider contextual factors on the acculturation process of newcomers.

This lens has been extended in recent decades and a contemporary perspective of conceptualizing acculturation suggests that the responsibility for successful acculturation

relies not solely on newcomers, but also on contextual factors of the host country (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Schwartz et al., 2010). This perspective allows for reciprocal interactions between the newcomer and the host country and the impact of contextual factors that could impact the transition process in either positive or negative ways (Schwartz et al., 2010). The contextual factors that have been identified include pre-migration factors, ethnicity and culture of the newcomer group, and post-migration factors of the receiving country (Bemak & Chung, 2005; Yakushko et al., 2008).

Pre-migration factors that precipitated resettlement to the United States have been identified as an important contributor to the acculturation process (Steiner, 2009). Berry (2006) developed four categories of migrants including: voluntary migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and sojourners. Each of these categories is impacted by the amount of choice involved in resettlement to the United States. Voluntary migrants, asylum seekers, and sojourners often have much more choice and preparation for entering a new country than refugees who are involuntarily resettled due to war, persecution, or natural disasters (Berry, 2006).

The ethnicity and culture of refugees may also impact their acculturation experiences because of discrimination and prejudice that often occurs after resettlement. The United States, as a receiving country, has not been immune to acts of discrimination against newcomers. Historically, each successive wave of new immigrants arriving after the 1700s faced discrimination by groups that had resettled previously (Schwartz et al., 2010). Even though the racial climate of the United States has improved over the years,

immigrant and refugee students still report feeling discriminated against and isolated (Chuang, 2010; Correa-Velez, Gifford, & Barnett, 2010).

Currently, the trend in acculturation research is to move away from rigid dichotomies or categories to describe behavior and instead adopt a framework that allows for fluidity and interrelation between the receiving/host culture and native/home culture values, traditions, beliefs and practices. Schwartz et al. (2010) propose a multidimensional biculturalism perspective that allows for individuals to combine or blend various attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs of both the receiving and home country cultures in a way that allows them to adapt responses based on different environmental and contextual factors. This appears to be an inherently strength-based approach because it highlights the adaptive response of newcomers when encountering potential stressors in the transition process (Raible & Nieto, 2008). Theories of ethnic identity, such as the one proposed by Phinney and Ong (2007), may assist in the understanding of how immigrants of color negotiate the complex task of adjusting to the culture of the United States and the impact this has on their identity development.

Acculturative Stress

Refugees encounter extensive barriers upon arrival in the United States, including separation from support networks, difficulty finding employment, unfamiliarity with customs, lack of English proficiency, and discrimination and prejudice (Chuang, 2010; Villalba, 2009; Yakushko et al., 2008). Refugees are offered assistance through resettlement agencies to deal with some of these barriers, but this assistance is temporary and lasts for as few as 4 months (Mitschke et al., 2011). There has been overwhelming

evidence among refugees that this is not enough time to successfully acclimate to the new country, culture, and language (Stewart et al., 2008). Many refugees report feeling overwhelmed and disappointed by their resettlement in the United States (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011), including the Karen (Mitschke et al., 2011). As a result many develop acculturative stress, yet are not able to seek help or assistance in decreasing this stress and in developing positive coping methods (Derluyn, Mels, & Broekaert, 2009; Stewart et al., 2008). Acculturative stress can manifest itself in both behavioral and psychological symptoms (Short et al., 2010). Typical stress responses include depression, anxiety, loneliness, and alienation (Short et al., 2010).

Many newcomers report difficulty in accessing formal support services and are often unaware that these services exist. Given the language barriers that often accompany the resettlement process, even if refugees are aware of services, have available transportation to these services, or have the means necessary to pay for these services, difficulty still exists in communicating specific needs (Stewart et al., 2008). Thus, it is likely many newcomers struggle with acculturation stress from the resettlement experience yet are unable to seek support. Left untreated, these stress responses may result in increased feelings of loneliness and alienation (Stewart et al., 2008).

Adolescent refugees. Refugee students often develop acculturative stress related to the multitude of transitions experienced, including transition to school and life in the United States (Kovacev & Shute, 2004). Researchers have indicated that the older a youth is when they relocate to the United States, the greater the likelihood that they will experience higher amounts of acculturative stress (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Kao &

Tienda, 1995; Mena, Padilla, & Maldonado, 1987; Padilla, Alvarez, & Lindholm, 1986). Adolescence has been established as a time period when an individual must cope with the loss surrounding an identity that is separate from parental caregivers. The process of acculturation for adolescent refugees also involves a loss of attachments to the home culture and a re-vision and reconstitution of identity (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989; Suárez-Orozco, 2000). The overlapping developmental process of adolescence on the resettlement experience attributes to the development of acculturative stress and tensions that could impact overall wellbeing (Rothe et al., 2011).

Acculturative stress is influenced by pre-migration, arrival, and post-migration factors (Yakushko et al., 2008). Pre-migration stressors include the disruption of support networks, thus one type of acculturative stress is the establishment of friendships with school age peers (Chuang, 2010; Kovacev & Shute, 2004). Upon resettlement, refugee adolescents may still be mourning the loss of friends and family left behind in refugee camps or in their home country. As a result, these students may be experiencing loneliness related to the loss of these relationships (Yakushko et al., 2008). Refugee adolescents often have minimal preparation for resettling in the United States and also have spent extended periods of time in refugee camps where there is often little hope of pursuing education beyond high school or being able to develop and practice a career (Rothe et al., 2011). Refugees also are more likely than other groups to have witnessed or experienced violence or trauma (Bemak & Chung, 2005). These experiences are often imprinted on adolescent refugee newcomers when they arrive in the United States;

therefore, they face the task of trying to cope with pre-arrival trauma experiences while also experiencing new stressors related to adapting to a new environment.

A multidimensional perspective on acculturative stress highlights the additional stressors impacting adolescent newcomer refugees as they attempt to orient to the culture of the receiving country in order to experience belongingness at school, while simultaneously trying to balance pressure from family and other members of their cultural group to preserve the culture of the home country (Schwartz et al., 2010). In response, some refugee adolescents may over-identify with the home culture, host culture, or become separated from both (Lustig et al., 2004). An external protective factor that has been identified to help insulate newcomers against these acculturative stressors is social support systems (Short et al., 2010; Stewart et al., 2008).

Transition to school. These feelings may be more likely to emerge in the school environment, as adolescent refugees undergo the transition to school in the United States (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). Refugee students are forced to navigate the routine challenges of school in the United States without the added benefit of a close group of peers they have maintained an established relationship with for a significant period of time. Adolescent refugees and other newcomer groups are often at risk for social isolation (Chuang, 2010; Singer & Chandra-Shekeran, 2006; Wilding, 2008). This is particularly problematic given that adolescent refugees report that they are more likely to seek help from friends to deal with the psychosocial stress of resettlement than parents, siblings, or extended family (Anstiss & Ziaian, 2010.) Additionally, refugee adolescents report a resistance to go beyond these friendship networks to seek help for emotional problems,

contributing to an underutilization of community mental health resources among refugee adolescents (Anstiss & Ziaian, 2010). Adolescent refugees have provided the following reasons for refraining from using mental health services: skepticism of services, stigma associated with mental health seeking, and a distrust of mental health professionals (Anstiss & Ziaian, 2010). Given the role of school counselors in the school setting, opportunities exist to build rapport and establish trust with newcomer refugee students that may be instrumental in identifying the mental health and academic needs of this population.

Social Capital

Relationship development and maintenance is an important task across the lifespan, but developmental theorists have asserted that the establishment of interpersonal relationships takes on greater significance during adolescence (Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, 2008). A social capital framework can assist in understanding how the acquisition of support networks is fundamental to the psychological health of individuals. Specifically, there are characteristics of these networks that can offer specific benefits to individuals (Ellison et al., 2007; Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011; Williams, 2006).

The deleterious impact of a lack of social relationships has been supported in the literature related to overall wellbeing. A lack of social relationships is associated with negative health outcomes; therefore, a possession of a network of relationships can improve overall wellbeing (Chuang, 2010; Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, 2008). Resources provided by these networks of relationships are referred to as social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Specifically, social capital refers to, “the product of investment

strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly useable in the short or long term" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 251). Bourdieu's conceptualization of social capital is widely recognized in the literature and employed in studies involving the application of social capital with adolescents in educational settings (Choi et al., 2011; Ellison et al., 2007; Naidoo, 2009; Tomai et al., 2010; Valenzuela et al., 2009).

History of Social Capital

The term social capital gained notoriety and recognition in this century with the publication of *Bowling Alone* by Robert Putnam (2000); however, James Coleman (1988) applied the concept two decades earlier to educational settings and referred to social capital as the resources that flow through relationship ties. Recently, social capital has been extended to the counseling literature (Bryan et al., 2011) in the application of a conceptual framework for school counselors referred to as school-based social capital theory (Lin, 2001). This theory implicates school counselors as potential social capital resources for students, especially those identified as at-risk (Bryan et al., 2011).

Most of the extant literature on social capital focuses on the two distinctions of social capital described by Putnam (2000): bridging and bonding. Williams (2006) established that different types of relationships determine different forms of social capital; therefore, one way of conceptualizing the distinction between bridging and bonding social capital is through an examination of their purported outcomes. Outcomes associated with bonding social capital are subsumed under the category of psychosocial outcomes and include constructs such as social support (Crosnoe et al., 2003; Putnam,

2000). Bridging social capital is linked to instrumental outcomes such as acquiring new information (Crosnoe et al., 2003; Putnam, 2000).

Granovetter's (1973) description of strong and weak ties provides additional insight into the distinctions of bridging and bonding social capital. Bonding social capital emphasizes relationships that possess relational closeness and are based on strong ties. Bridging social capital, on the other hand, is associated with less dense, weaker ties. These distinctions have often forced researchers into two opposing camps: rational choice-theorists (Putnam, 2000) and structuralists (Lin, 2001). Rational-choice theorists support the strength of strong ties argument, believing that the density and homogeneity of bonded networks offer greater social capital value. Structuralists, on the other hand, support the strength of weak ties position arguing that diffuse, heterogeneous networks possess greater social capital (Ryabov, 2009). Researchers have consistently agreed that social capital resources differ based on these different network structures (Ellison et al., 2007; Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011; Putnam, 2000).

A challenge facing researchers is the ability to provide a comprehensive framework for social capital development that integrates different dimensions, yet is narrow enough in scope to be understood and applied effectively with a specific population of interest. An issue that has plagued research on social capital is that an inclusive, broad definition of social capital employed in numerous studies often does not specify the level of social capital (i.e., individual or institutional), delineate specific forms of social capital, or consider the unequal access to social capital across differing racial, ethnic, and cultural groups.

Social Capital and Assimilation

Beginning in the 1990s researchers and theorists began to publish studies suggesting that there were protective factors associated with the cultural community of immigrants and newcomers that promoted positive academic success for students in these communities (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Zhou & Bankston, 1994). Prior to this, the predominant perspective for examining adjustment to a new culture was classical assimilationist theory, or the idea that newcomers must vanquish the traditions and cultures of their home country in order to adopt the new culture of the host country (Schwartz et al., 2010; Zhou & Bankston, 1994). This perspective was developed and applied to European immigrants but the explanative power of this model poorly fit the newer wave of Latino and Southeast Asian immigrants entering the United States in the 1990s (Portes & Zhou, 1993). The premise of this new perspective was predicated on the idea that the culture of immigrant groups could serve as an important form of social capital in and of itself. Therefore, the social structure of a community can provide resources to assist its members. Zhou and Bankston (1994) researched a community of Vietnamese immigrants living in New Orleans, LA and determined that strong community ties provided a cultural orientation and value system that impacted the academic success of high school students in the community. Students residing within a close-knit community of other members of their cultural group excelled in high school, many of who received college scholarships (Zhou & Bankston, 1994).

Researchers have suggested that a protective factor against depression and other transition related negative mental health outcomes is the support that is provided by a

network of individuals that share the same cultural experiences (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou & Bankston, 1994). Portes and Zhou (1993) introduced a conceptual framework to explain three possible routes of assimilation for second-generation immigrant youth that included a consideration of how the support from students' cultural networks could impact academic performance. The first is referred to as straight-line upward assimilation involving improved education levels across successive generations of immigrant youth leading to increased integration into the middle class (Portes & Zhou, 1993). This path is most closely linked to the tenets of bridging social capital, or the importance of relationships with the dominant culture, to provide economic opportunities. The second is referred to as straight-line downward assimilation, resulting in second-generation and successive immigrants descending into poverty and having poorer academic outcomes (Portes & Zhou, 1993). In this scenario, bonding social capital could be perceived as limiting opportunities to bridge with members of the dominant group, resulting in less exposure and opportunities to employment and educational resources. The final assimilation path is referred to as segmented assimilation and involves economic success among newcomers and an ability to preserve the cultural traditions of the home country (Portes & Zhou, 1993). This particular assimilation path is most closely related to the tenet of bonding social capital because it explains how relationships with members of the same cultural group serve as protective factors against discrimination and prejudice for youth in these communities (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Kao and Tienda (1995) offered additional support for the forms of social capital that are accrued through close-knit, bonded communities for first generation and second-

generation immigrant youth. These researchers developed the immigrant optimism hypothesis as a way to explain why some immigrant students fare better in school than native born students. The authors suggest that newcomers may actually be more committed to the educational process because of strongly held beliefs related to the importance of education in achieving financial stability and success (Kao & Tienda, 1995). Many newcomer families possess an intense hope about creating a better life in the United States and transmit these beliefs to their children, who in turn have a strong desire to be successful in school to make their families and communities proud and establish a better quality of life in the United States (Rosenbaum & Rochford, 2008; Zhou & Bankston, 1994). An instillation of shared values and beliefs creates an environment of care and support in these bonded communities and highlights the protective role of bonded communities on the acculturation experience of immigrants and refugees (Turner & Fozdar, 2010; Zhou & Bankston, 1994).

Peer Social Capital

Children and youth have only recently been given consideration in the context of social capital theories. Historically, young people were viewed as recipients of social capital that had been accumulated by their parents (Holland, 2009). As a result, many of the researchers examining social capital in schools focused on social capital established between parents and educational stakeholders (Coleman, 1988; Kao & Tienda, 1995); fewer researchers examined the social capital established between students and their peers.

Crosnoe et al. (2003) identified a gap in the research on adolescent friendships regarding an examination of the positive benefits of these social networks. The few studies that investigated the benefits of peer networks on academic success found that the benefits that accrue through these relationships can be subsumed under the categories of bonding and bridging social capital (Bottrell, 2009). Peers provide a needed sense of belongingness and acceptance that are beneficial emotional outcomes, yet they also may provide help with homework, assistance with language difficulties, and orientation to the school environment (Bottrell, 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009).

Researchers determined that cultural and racial considerations existed within the development of social capital through these peer relationships (Crosnoe et al., 2003; Ryabov, 2009). Crosnoe et al. (2003) found that a relationship with academically oriented peers was related to better academic outcomes. This relationship was found to be strongest for students in low-performing schools; however, this was not consistent across cultural groups. Academically oriented peers appeared to be a greater protective factor for Caucasian students in low-performing schools but not for African-American students in low-performing schools (Crosnoe et al., 2003).

Ryabov (2009) examined the interactional effects between generational status and peer social capital measures. These analyses indicated that the peer network of immigrant students was more closely associated with outcome variables related to academic achievement and attainment than for native students. There were positive interaction effects related to network density and immigrant generation status, indicating that denser, homogenous peer networks were more likely to benefit immigrant rather than native-born

students (Ryabov, 2009). Newcomers had the highest network density and network density decreased the longer amount of time in the United States (Ryabov, 2009). Ryabov (2009) noted that these results were consistent with the segmented assimilation hypotheses (Portes & Zhou, 1993) and that there appeared to be a protective factor related to academic achievement and attainment for immigrant students whose parents were born in another country but who themselves have primarily grown up in the cultures and traditions of the United States (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996).

Although the studies by Crosnoe et al. (2003) and Ryabov (2009) provide evidence that there are clear associations between adolescent's peer networks and academic performance, they do not provide a great deal of information regarding the specific characteristics of peer relationships that are linked to academic benefits. There is still little known about the particular mechanisms operating within these networks. Specifically, the researchers do not provide information related to the composition of the networks based on whether these relationships tend to be with peers with the same cultural identity or with peers with cross-cultural identities.

Researchers examining peer social capital have differed in how they define peer relationships and in their outcome measures of peer social capital (Chan & Birman, 2009; Crosnoe et al., 2003; Ryabov, 2009). Crosnoe et al. (2003) and Ryabov (2009) operationalized peer social capital as academic related outcomes. Crosnoe et al. (2003) utilized participants' friends' grade point averages as an outcome variable associated with peer social capital. Ryabov (2009) also utilized grade point averages along with

educational attainment. Chan and Birman (2009), however, included a social support scale as an outcome measure of peer social capital.

In order to measure the composition of friendship networks, Ryabov (2009) and Crosnoe et al. (2003) examined the diversity of friendships reported by participants. Ryabov (2009) and Crosnoe et al. (2003) attempted to measure the density of the networks based on the degree to which members know each other, but were limited by the questions asked about friendships in the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, the dataset that both researchers used in their research. Thus, it is difficult to ascertain the specific measure of relationship strength making it hard to duplicate the results of the finding related to the density of peer networks. Chan and Birman (2009) asked participants to identify 10 of their best friends at school and then note how many were White, Black, Latino, and Asian. This item was used to assess for both the composition and relational closeness of participants' friendship networks.

Cross-ethnic and Same-ethnic Friendship Networks

Researchers further investigating the differences in friendships across and between different cultural groups (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2005; Chan & Birman, 2009) have tended to highlight the social support developed through these peer relationships. Stanton-Salazar and Spina (2005) conducted a study with high school students born in Mexico and living in San Diego for less than 7 years. The researchers employed a critical ethnography method and conducted detailed interviews with 75 students. Peer networks for this group of participants averaged between 5-6 people and over half of participants indicated a peer as their only source of emotional support. Peers

discussed the challenges and adversities they faced as part of the newcomer experience including academic difficulties, acculturation stress, and caring for immigrant parents. These friendship networks provided an outlet or forum to discuss these issues, but also provided access to coping strategies other members of the network were using to deal with these stressors (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2005).

Chan and Birman (2009) investigated the friendship development of 153 Vietnamese high school immigrant youth. These researchers were interested in understanding the composition of students' friendship networks based on whether the networks consisted primarily of students from the same-cultural background or from different cultural backgrounds and the impact of school diversity on the creation and development of these friendships. Chan and Birman (2009) employed an ecological perspective when considering the development of peer friendships for immigrant high schools students, acknowledging that friendships do not occur void of a social context and that there may be particular characteristics of the school that are more likely to promote the development of these relationships. The diversity of the school was measured using a diversity index that took into account the composition of ethnicities in each school sample and the proportion of students that were Asian (Chan & Birman, 2009). The researchers proposed that students who more acculturated to the American culture would have more cross-race friendships and students who possessed greater identification with the Vietnamese culture would have more same-race friendships (Chan & Birman, 2009).

The results indicated that participants had approximately the same number of cross-race and same-race friendships; however, they perceived greater social support from their same-race friends (Chan & Birman, 2009). Although, an exact number was not given for the length of time students had been residing in the United States, as a group the participants had spent at least half their life in the United States. These students appeared to be acculturated somewhat more strongly to American than Vietnamese culture. Students who reported being more acculturated to an American identity perceived having higher levels of social support from their cross-race friendships and similarly those students who were more acculturated to the Vietnamese identity reported greater perceived levels of social support from same-race friendships. School diversity did not appear to increase the amount of cross-race friendships or perceived social support from these relationships (Chan & Birman, 2009). This study was limited, however, by the fact that all Asian ethnic groups were grouped together and it may have masked the differences inherent in Asian friendships with peers from other Asian cultures.

The studies presented highlight the potential impact of schools on the development of friendship networks for immigrant youth (Chan & Birman, 2009; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2005). Stanton-Salazar and Spina (2005) concluded that, "embeddedness within peer networks significantly influenced by the cultural principles of trust and of social support appear to provide the resources necessary to foster developmental gains and school achievement in spite of the many stressors associated with acculturation stress" (p. 410). Schools, however, often do not encourage or enhance the formation of social support and peer relationships for ethnic minority youth (Stanton-

Salazar & Spina, 2005). Thus, the impetus has been put on the youth themselves to identify ways to adapt to these school environments. Additionally, researches have focused solely on offline friendship development and have not investigated the online development of peer relationships, an important outlet for friendship development for adolescent youth.

The studies presented clearly implicate the importance of a peer network on positive academic outcomes. Many of the studies examining peer social capital of adolescents have used varying definitions of what constitutes social capital and fail to elucidate the mechanisms by which social capital development may differ for adolescents (Chan & Birman, 2009; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2005). Specifically, many studies do not consider the developmental perspective of adolescents nor the degree to which social capital accumulation may differ for this age group (Chan & Birman, 2009; Crosnoe et al., 2003; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009).

Schaefer-McDaniel (2004) developed a theory of social capital development for young people that included three elements: social networks and interactions, trust and reciprocity, and a sense of belonging or place attachment. Furthermore, the model outlined by Schaefer-McDaniel (2004) has been applied to a diverse cultural and socioeconomic sample of youth (Holland, 2009). Until now the studies that have been presented for review have tended to focus only one or two elements of the social capital theory for young people proposed by Schaefer-McDaniel (2004). Studies have addressed the network composition of adolescent's friendships (Chan & Birman, 2009; Ryabov, 2009) and the characteristics of these networks such as trust and social support (Stanton-

Salazar & Spina, 2005); however, none of the above studies address young people's sense of belongingness within these relationships.

Holland (2009) examined the social capital benefits of peer networks for outcomes related to belongingness and social support. When examining the results from three studies by the Family and Social Capital Research Group, Holland (2009) determined that friendship was an important social capital resource because it provided admittance into larger peer networks. These friendship networks provided social support and coping that aided in the transition from primary school to secondary school. Furthermore, when students transitioned to a school with the same group of friends this bonded peer group enabled them to branch out and develop other friendships (Holland, 2009).

Social Support and Newcomer Refugee Youth

Most of the studies outlined so far have focused on academic achievement as a measure of social capital. This could be problematic when applied to newcomer refugee students because school adjustment has been cited as a better indicator of sociocultural adaptation (Ward, 1996). An examination of academic achievement does not elucidate the sense of connection that students may or may not experience within the school environment and with peers within the school environment.

As mentioned previously, refugee students may share some of the same resettlement experiences as other immigrant groups; however, their transition experience may also be impacted by differing pre-resettlement and post-resettlement experiences as part of refugee group membership. Refugee students are likely to have survived pre-

resettlement experiences including witnessing someone in a highly distressing situation, separation from a parent for over a month, experiencing the death of a loved one, or seeing someone who was wounded or severely injured (Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007).

Kovacev and Shute (2004) conducted a study with a group of refugee students from Yugoslavia who had resettled in Australia. The purpose of the study was to ascertain how adolescent refugee adjustment was impacted by acculturation and social support. The dependent variable in the study was global self-worth that was used as the measure for psychosocial adjustment. The authors also identified two measures of peer relationships: peer social acceptance and social support. In this study peer social acceptance was assessed using the Adolescent Self-Perception Profile (Harter, 1988) and social support was measured using The Social Support Scale for Children (Harter, 1985). The Social Support Scale for Children assessed four different types of support: parental, classmates, close friends, and teachers. Acculturation was assessed through the use of the Acculturation Attitude Scale (Sam, 1995).

Participants included 83 Yugoslavian adolescent refugees living in Australia with a mean age of 15.2 years. Approximately half of the sample was newcomer refugee adolescents who had lived in Australia for less than 1 year. The other half had been in Australia for at least 7 years at the time of study publication. Results of the study indicated that there was an important predictive value of acculturation strategies on psychosocial adjustment. Refugee adolescents who endorsed a strategy of marginalization had lower global self-worth; whereas, those adolescents who endorsed an integration strategy had higher global self-worth (Kovacev & Shute, 2004).

Similar results were found between these acculturation strategies and perceived peer acceptance. Refugee adolescents who endorsed marginalization had lower scores on peer social acceptance, whereas, those adolescents who endorsed integration had higher scores on peer social acceptance (Kovacev & Shute, 2004). Additionally, individuals who endorsed the integration strategy perceived greater levels of closeness in these social relationships than their peers who endorsed marginalization or assimilation. The researchers conducted multiple regression analyses to determine if social support mediated the relationship between acculturation and psychosocial adjustment and concluded that social support does have an indirect effect on this outcome variable. Interestingly, when the researchers aggregated the data to examine the difference between newcomer refugee adolescents (living in Australia for less than a year) and those students who had been there longer, there were no significant differences between the two groups. The results of this study highlight the importance of social support on the psychosocial adjustment of newcomer refugee adolescents. Although the authors did not refer to social support as bonding social capital the measures of social support and peer acceptance in this study are similar constructs.

Kia-Keating and Ellis (2007) examined the relationship between school belonging and psychosocial adjustment. Participants in the study were 76 Somali refugees aged 12-19 living in the United States. Participants were required to have been living in the United States for at least 1 year and the average time of resettlement in the United States was 6 years. Respondents included middle school through college students.

School belonging was measured with the Psychological Sense of School Membership (PSSM) scale. Psychosocial adjustment was measured through the UCLA PTSD Index, Depression Self-rating Scale, and the Multidimensional Scales of Perceived Self-efficacy. The authors also assessed for exposure to pre-resettlement trauma based on scores on the War Trauma Screening Scale. In regression analyses, school belonging explained 27% of the variance in self-efficacy scores. Although this study did not specifically assess the quality and composition of adolescent refugees peer networks, the assessment of relationships was a part of the Psychological Sense of School Membership scale.

Correa-Velez et al. (2010) conducted a study with 97 newcomer adolescent refugee students living in Australia. The participants included newcomer refugee students from Africa, the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and Southeast Asia (including Burma). Five key themes were explored in the research: identity, connection to others, connection to place, health and wellbeing, and plans for the future. These themes are inherent in the model of social capital for young people developed by Schaefer-McDaniel (2004).

Correa-Velez et al. (2010) developed a conceptual model to explain how demographic and pre-migration factors are related to wellness outcomes. The demographic factors at the onset of the model included gender, region of birth, age, and previous schooling. The key predictors of wellbeing were divided into individual, familial, ethnic community, school/friends, and broader community factors. Finally, the outcome variables of the model were subjective wellbeing, subjective health status, and happiness. Similar to the conceptual framework used by Chan and Birman (2009),

Correa-Velez et al.'s (2010) model is based on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological perspective.

The instrument utilized in the study to measure outcome variables was the World Health Organization Quality of Life questionnaire, and was given at different times throughout the first three years of the study in order to establish changes across the first three years of resettlement (Correa-Velez et al., 2010). The questionnaire includes four subscales: physical, psychological, social relationships, and environment. The results given a year after resettlement indicated that in general newcomer refugee students reported high levels of wellbeing, subjective health status and happiness, positive feelings about home, high levels of perceived school performance and school support, good attachment to peers, and strong sense of ethnic identity (Correa-Velez et al., 2010).

The results indicated that perceived school performance was associated with higher scores on the physical and psychological subscales of the quality of life questionnaire along with higher endorsement of health status (Correa-Velez et al., 2010). Participants who reported higher levels of peer attachment were more likely to report greater wellbeing on the psychological, social, and environment subscales of the quality of life measure. The authors contend that one of the most interesting findings of their research was the emergence of social factors as a significant influence on wellbeing. Specifically, participants who experienced social exclusion, or were the targets of bullying or discrimination, had lower wellbeing scores. The authors mentioned that future researchers should examine social settings including the students' ethnic community,

wider community of the country in which they are resettling, and the school environment (Correa-Velez et al., 2010).

Additionally, overall high wellbeing scores in the study indicate that newcomer adolescent refugees make use of resources in their adjustment to resettlement and seem to find ways to cope with the stressors (Correa-Velez et al., 2010). The authors include in their discussion section the concepts of bridging and bonding social capital; however, they tended to overemphasize the importance of bridging social capital over bonding social capital for newcomer refugee adolescents because of the link that this form of social capital has to instrumental resources available in the broader community. Correa-Velez et al. (2010) acknowledged that the receiving country should encourage open and heterogeneous housing options and other policies that ensure that newcomer refugees have opportunities to interact with members of the host culture.

One limitation of this study is that the authors did not disaggregate the data according to specific newcomer refugee group; therefore, it is not known if there are specific refugee groups that may be adapting in a more prosocial way to the resettlement process than others (Correa-Velez et al., 2010). Additionally, information cannot be extrapolated regarding newcomer refugee adolescent cultural groups that may be having a more difficult adjustment process.

Bridging and Bonding Social Capital for Minority Youth

Researchers examining cultural and cross-cultural differences in social networks have found that strong ties are associated with higher perceived levels of social support, whereas weak ties are associated with increased access to differing types of informational

resources (Choi et al., 2011). Holland et al. (2007) found bonding social capital developed through same-culture relationships, resources, and experiences helped Caribbean youth living in the United Kingdom bridge new friendships with peers outside their cultural group. Bottrell (2009) found similar results in a group of economically disadvantaged youth living in Australia and noted that bridging social capital is often limited within these students' school environments. These studies highlight the potential importance of close-knit, homogenous groups on the academic success of minority students. This research tends to support the tenets of bonding social capital and the importance of close-knit, homogeneous networks on the relational outcomes of newcomer youth, especially on identity development (Garcia-Reid, 2007; Holland et al., 2007; Kovacev & Shute, 2004). Thus, the supportive nature of relationships with members of the same ethnic group has been associated with protective factors from the stress of the acculturation process (Crosnoe et al., 2003; Liebkind et al., 2004; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009).

Bonding social capital has not always been viewed as a positive resource for immigrant communities. For example, Cheong, Edwards, Goulbourne, and Solomos (2007), in a study examining social capital from a critical perspective, highlight that bonding social capital has been historically viewed as a threat to social cohesion because the network of tightly bonded relationships that exist in niches of immigrant and refugee families may arise at the expense of relationships formed outside of these communities or enclaves. Bonding social capital, therefore, has often been associated with potentially

lower levels of social cohesion across cultural groups (Cheong et al., 2007) but greater levels of social support within newcomer groups (Choi et al., 2011).

There are researchers who have focused more on bridging social capital established by heterogeneous, weak tie relationships. In one of the only studies examining the social networks of refugee youth, Wells (2011) summarized that weak ties were more influential in the establishment of social networks for refugee adolescents living in London, UK. Unfortunately, the author did not provide a definition of what constituted strong versus weak ties nor provide information about how long participants had been residing in the United Kingdom (Wells, 2011).

Given that recent researchers have found that close and confiding relationships and the social support provided by these are instrumental in the academic engagement of newcomer youth, further studies are needed to examine the impact of this form of bonding social capital (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). According to Holland et al. (2007), researchers have tended to place more emphasis on the advantages of bridging over bonding social capital, especially for individuals in disadvantaged communities. The studies presented have provided evidence of relationships between students' peer networks and school success. Most studies, however, have failed to adequately capture a measure of social capital for adolescent youth, nor explore the mechanisms behind the establishment of social capital for newcomer refugee youth.

Over the past decades of immigrant and refugee research, a trend has been to move away from problem-focused research on the deficits related to the newcomer refugee experience and shift to more of a focus on resilience related outcomes. This trend shows

promise for embracing studies that examine how newcomer adolescent refugees are coping with the myriad stressors that they face upon resettlement in the United States and the impact of this on school adjustment and cultural identity. Absent from these studies is a consideration of how newcomer refugee youth may be using online social networking sites to build and maintain new social networks. An examination of newcomer adolescent refugee's online networks may add additional information on social capital development for these youth. Researchers examining the social capital development of ethnically diverse adolescents have found the distinctions of bridging and bonding to be a useful way to conceptualize social capital resources; however, additional information is still needed on how this social capital is accumulated (Bottrell, 2009; Holland et al., 2007).

Online Social Capital

Social capital development is not limited by geographical distance and has been linked to spaces created online (Ellison et al., 2007; Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011). The structure of social networking sites offer individuals the opportunity to create and maintain large networks and provides individuals with different avenues for the request and fulfillment of resources to other members of the network (Stutzman, Vitak, Ellison, Gray, & Lampe, 2012). On-line social networking sites (SNS) are uniquely situated to facilitate the development and consolidation of relationships. Social capital is embedded in the structure of social networks and the location of individuals within networks (Burt, 2005). One of the primary settings for the establishment of social networks is online SNS, one of the most popular of which is Facebook.

The online SNS, Facebook, has exploded since its inception in 2004. In as little as 6 years, Facebook has accumulated upwards of 900 million active users worldwide resulting in over 125 billion 'Friend" connections (Facebook, 2012). In a recent Internet poll, Facebook ranked as the second most visited site worldwide (Alexa, 2011). Facebook offers a format that enables users to create a profile that includes places to post areas of interest related to music, television, movies, books, and games. Users can provide their educational, work, and contact information along with basic information about their current city, hometown, and date of birth. Users have control over how much detail they decide to include and the amount of features they utilize on Facebook. The information included in the profile gives individuals information on points of potential connection. The site contains features to help facilitate connection and sharing through the ability to post pictures, tag friends in pictures, post comments on others' walls, send messages, and create and monitor status updates (Ledbetter et al., 2011).

According to the Pew Research Center (Lenhart et al., 2011), 1 in 8 adolescents between the ages of 12 and 17 possess a social networking site account and 90% of these include Facebook (Lenhart et al., 2011). Approximately 70% of adolescent users visit online sites daily (Lenhart et al., 2011), spending an average of at least 1 hour a day on Facebook (Vitak et al., 2011). Additionally, adolescents are increasingly accessing Facebook through the use of cell phones (Lenhart et al., 2011).

Upon the advent and rise of the Internet, there were individuals who feared that increased Internet use would decrease an individual's willingness to participate in social activities offline, thus significantly reducing amounts of individual social capital

(Putnam, 2000). Overwhelmingly, researchers examining social capital development through online social networking sites indicated that social capital could be increased through site use. Researchers have found positive relationships between Facebook use and social capital based on an individual's network composition, intensity of use, and motivations for use (Ellison et al., 2007; Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011). Researchers have found an overlap between an individual's presentation in their offline and online worlds and in the initiation and maintenance of relationships (Back et al., 2010). Often times, there is a high overlap between friendships that individuals have online and those they have offline and many relationships that are begun online end up resulting in face-to-face interactions (Wright & Li, 2011).

Researchers have investigated the specific features of Facebook that facilitate the development of social capital. Burke and colleagues (2011) determined that communicating one-on-one with members of the network through features such as sending messages or posting on an individual's wall was associated with greater levels of social capital. Ellison, Vitak, Gray, Lampe, and Brooks (2011) extended this investigation and determined that communicative behaviors aimed at specific individuals on Facebook, such as sending birthday wishes or directly posting to another member's profile, were seen as indicators of investment in relationships. These responses are likely to be viewed by other members of the network and increase the potential that the individual sending the message will have an opportunity to connect with members of their Friends' network previously unknown to them (Stutzman et al., 2012). It is this very possibility of expanding network size with relative ease and low risk that embodies the

potential that Facebook has to disseminate information and increase connectivity between individuals who may previously have never interacted.

Resnick (2002) outlines a useful framework for considering how Facebook facilitates the development of social capital through six tenets referred to as sociotechnical capital. These include removing barriers to traverse time and distance, connecting with more than one individual at a time, managing the amount of information disclosed, maintaining a record of interactions, and creating a group identity. The features of Facebook support these tenets and Facebook communication researchers readily acknowledge that Facebook provides adolescents with a computer mediated technology that is characterized by ease of access and functions as a medium to showcase formerly private knowledge into the public domain (Melander; 2010; Sengupta & Chaudhuri, 2011; Subrahmanyam, Reich, Waechter, & Espinoza, 2008). It is these characteristics of Facebook that have shaped its important role in the maintenance and formation of adolescent relationships (Baker & White, 2010; Mikami et al., 2010).

There are many beneficial relational outcomes associated with social networking use including the ability to enhance local and long distance social relationships (Ledbetter et al., 2011; Mansson & Myers, 2011). Research by Mansson and Myers (2011) indicates that adolescents and young adults are utilizing Facebook to display supportive and affectionate communicative behaviors to their friends. A sample of college students identified 29 forms of affection behaviors demonstrated on Facebook. Examples of these types of expressions of affection include posting pictures with friends, sending wall posts, writing status messages involving a friend, and wishing them a happy birthday.

Given that Facebook is a medium for relational exchanges among friends, it is important to consider the ways that Facebook allows individuals to express and replicate offline friendship behaviors. Relationships developed on SNS exhibit behaviors associated with relational closeness offline, such as displaying messages of support (Mansson & Myers, 2011). Social penetration theory is a communication theory that can be used to explain the development and maintenance of interpersonal relationships on SNS. Social penetration theory suggests that relationships deepen as individuals share greater levels of personal information with one another and that these disclosures lead to greater intimacy and trust (Altman & Taylor, 1983). Ledbetter and colleagues (2011) developed an empirically based, structural model demonstrating that relational closeness was an outcome of Facebook communication.

Park, Jin, and Jin (2011) developed a model to predict relational intimacy utilizing aspects of social penetration theory as a conceptual framework. Researchers considered the functions of Facebook use in their model and categorized them as: relationship initiation and relationship maintenance. Self-disclosure amount was positively associated with intimacy on Facebook and the need for affiliation was positively associated with the motivation for relationship maintenance on Facebook. Stutzman et al. (2012) discovered that the increased privacy features of Facebook are associated with greater self-disclosures on Facebook; however, privacy does not limit the perception of social capital developed through relationships on Facebook. This research clearly implicates the constructs of social connection and self-disclosure contained within social penetration theory in understanding the motivations and functions of Facebook use in young adults.

Facebook may be a way for newcomer students to develop and sustain relational closeness with other individuals sharing the same cultural identity. If relational closeness develops through these relationships, bonding social capital may increase, resulting in greater networks of social support for newcomer students.

Ellison, Lampe, et al. (2011) highlight the ability of Facebook to stretch geographic boundaries and create fluidity among space and time continuums. This has revolutionized the development of friendships given that, prior to advances in technology, the establishment of these ties was constricted to individuals who maintained a close proximity to one another. Friendships have consistently tended to be based on the location of individual's homes, schools, and work places. Facebook expands the proximal requirements of friendships because friendships based initially on physical proximity but then change due to physical separation are more easily maintained (Ellison, Lampe, et al., 2011).

This has implications for the friendship networks of immigrants and refugees. The social networking capabilities allow individuals to more easily maintain relationships across physical distances. Unlike as few as 10 years ago, newcomers are now able to send pictures, video, and messages of support to loved ones still living in refugee camps or in their home country. Given the increase of technology in refugee camps, it is likely that individuals living there will have access to Facebook in cybercenters ("Refugees Voice", 2011).

Online Bridging Social Capital

The very nature of Facebook makes it easier to facilitate connections among individuals previously unknown to one another because the cost of interacting with these individuals is lowered. SNS also make it possible to activate latent tie associations, or connections between individuals with surface level connections (Ellison, Lampe, et al., 2011). Points of potential connection through mutual friendships or common interests are made available and thus increase the opportunity for relationship development.

Researchers examining online social capital development on Facebook have found fairly robust findings related to the development of bridging social capital (Ellison et al., 2007; Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011). In these studies, intensity of Facebook use was a stronger predictor of bridging social capital than bonding social capital (Ellison et al., 2007; Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011). Additionally, there was an interaction effect with self-esteem, such that individuals with lower self-esteem had higher levels of bridging social capital through Facebook. This indicates that social networking sites might assist individuals who have difficulty establishing social relationships offline (Ellison et al., 2007).

Online Bonding Social Capital

Facebook was originally created as a closed network to facilitate relationship connections among college students (Ellison et al., 2007). Researchers involved in seminal studies of social capital development online highlighted that relationships maintained on the site were often with individuals with whom a relationship was previously established offline (Ellison et al., 2007). In a study with undergraduates,

Ellison, Steinfield, and Lampe (2009) asked students to identify their reasons for using the site. The researchers used factor analysis to identify three distinct reasons for site use: initiating relationships, maintaining relationships, and information-seeking. Participants in the study endorsed maintaining relationships as the most frequent intent of site use. Interestingly, information seeking was the only predictor of both bonding and bridging social capital (Ellison et al., 2009).

Facebook has a number of features that may facilitate the acquisition of bonding social capital such as the Facebook Groups feature and the ability to send both public and private messages. Facebook Groups is a popular function of Facebook that allows individuals to connect with other Facebook members with similar interests. Due to the ease in which members can connect with others and distribute information, a variety of political, social, and special-interest groups are utilizing online groups. Membership in a Facebook group can provide an individual with novel information and access to other members that would otherwise not be possible (Park et al., 2011).

Measures of Online Social Capital

Researchers examining the social capital development of college students on Facebook have become interested in further understanding the nuances of relationships on the site. For example, recent iterations of studies measuring bonding social capital have moved beyond just assessing site use and engagement with the site and have begun to include additional questions related to the composition of friendship networks on Facebook (Ellison et al., 2009; Vitak et al., 2011). The total number of friends on the site was not predictive of social capital, whereas, when participants were asked to identify the

"actual" number of friends on the site this was a predictor (Ellison et al., 2009). Studies that have examined social capital development online have tended to use the Internet Social Capital Scale (ISCS) developed by Williams (2006). While the bonding subscale of the ISCS has demonstrated reliability and validity in studies, it is limited in that it has been used to examine social capital in geographically bound contexts. For example, in Ellison and colleagues (2007) study with college students the bonding social capital scale was used to assess bonding social capital between students from the same university. In recent iterations of their research, Vitak et al. (2011) utilized the Social Provisions Scale as a bonding measure of social capital to accommodate the geographically fluid nature of social capital. This has particular importance for refugee youth who have had disruptions in their social networks and displacement from friends and family in their home country or refugee camps.

Online Social Capital for Refugee Youth

Currently, access to Facebook is available to any individual over the age of 13 (Facebook, 2012), dramatically shifting and widening the potential connections that may occur between site members. Even though access is available across different age groups and life circumstances, studies examining social capital and Facebook are still mostly limited to college students. Changes in the accessibility of the site are likely to have repercussions for the way in which social capital is developed and accessed, specifically in regards to bonding social capital (Vitak et al., 2011).

Wilding (2008) published a conceptual article in the *Journal of Information, Communication and Ethics in Society,* identifying a gap in the research related to services

and programs that used communicative technologies to foster relationship building among refugee adolescents and identifying the Internet as a potential resource. This gap exists because traditional notions of community and inclusion have been limited to face-to-face or geographic boundaries. The Internet, however, affords individuals the opportunity to transcend geographical spaces and form relationships with others regardless of physical location (Wilding, 2008).

This is particularly fitting for refugees whom are already familiar with the experience of having to transcend multiple worlds. As the articles previously highlighted have mentioned, refugees are often times at risk for social exclusion due to resettlement, and the Internet provides a medium to form connections with other newcomer refugees living around the globe. It may be likely that these refugee youth already have acquired transnational networks of peers because of multiple phases of resettlement they have experienced. For example, they could have peer friendships with individuals remaining in their home country and peer groups from the camps that have been resettled in other countries. Thus, Wilding (2008) proposed utilizing the Internet as a way to facilitate social inclusion for refugee adolescents. The author, however, did not specifically mention the role of SNS.

Ethnic Identity

Cultural identity encompasses an individual's cultural traditions, values, and identifications (Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006). According to Phinney and Ong (2007), cultural identity refers to, "a sense of self as a group member that develops over time through an active process of investigation, learning, and commitment" (p. 279).

Ethnic identity is contained under the broader umbrella of cultural identity (Rothe et al., 2011). Ethnic identity is a socially constructed distinction, influenced by perceived belonging to a minority ethnic group within the larger society (Phinney, 1990).

It is now largely understood that ethnic identity is part of the larger construct of self-concept and, similarly to other aspects of identity development, has particular relevance during adolescence (Phinney, 1992; Schwartz et al., 2010). Ethnic identity is difficult to describe and understand because it is multi-nuanced. It is not simply another layer of individual identity or an aspect of group identity; instead it is a combination of both these identity types. Ethnic identity is the confluence of one's ability to think about themselves as an individual in contrast to themselves as a member of a group (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Consequently, ethnic identity is a fluid process that develops over time, influenced by the actions and choices of individuals (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The surrounding environments and contexts that an adolescent interacts within also influence the process of identity development because it is within these environments that adolescents encounter other individuals (Raible & Nieto, 2008).

Ethnic identity researchers draw on developmental (Erikson, 1968) and social (Tajfel, 1981) identity theories as a conceptual framework. Erikson (1968) believed that adolescence was a key developmental period for identity construction and individuals must successfully complete this task in order to avoid identity confusion. In order to achieve a fully developed identity, an individual must go through a period of searching, culminating in a commitment to an identity (Erikson, 1968). Ethnic identity development begins in childhood but becomes a qualitatively different process in adolescence

(Phinney, 1989; Roberts et al., 1999). Developmental identity theorists ascertain that individuals undergo a process that leads from relatively little thought, or a moratorium, regarding identity in childhood, to a period of active exploration beginning in early adolescence, to the acquisition and commitment to an identity in later adolescence. Thus, an individual's concept of identity becomes more solidified as they age and subsequently by adulthood most individuals have a stable sense of their self as a member of an ethnic group (Phinney, 2006).

Social identity theory implicates the concept of belongingess in the identity process (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Specifically, individuals derive feelings of self-esteem and self-worth based on this group identity (Roberts et al., 1999). Adolescents' identity develops according to perceived inclusion in numerous categories including family structure, sexual orientation, race, and nationality. Even amongst these various distinctions most adolescents share the common experience of wanting to belong (Raible & Nieto, 2008). Ethnic and cultural identities are specific forms of social identity that are particularly prominent for adolescents from minority backgrounds (Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005).

Identity development researchers have established that the process of identity adoption is more important than the ultimate identity selected. Therefore, one identity is not privileged above another as it relates to psychosocial adjustment, rather the importance is on the ability to explore and select identities that fit for the individual (Fuligni et al., 2005; García-Coll & Magnusson, 1997; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Marcia (1980) identified four ego identity statuses that typified the ranges of exploration and

commitment: achieved, moratorium, foreclosed, and diffusion. It should be noted, however, that Marcia (1980) did not specifically study ethnic identity. These stages are used to describe what happens when an individual struggles to define themselves against another group. Identity procurement is referred to as an achieved identity. The term moratorium is used to explain a period of time when an individual is searching but not committed to an identity. A foreclosed identity is just the opposite and describes the process by which an individual has committed to an identity but this was done without exploration. Finally, the last stage is identity diffusion when neither exploration nor commitment has occurred (Marcia, 1980). When applied to newcomer adolescent's acculturation process, these stages provide a way to conceptualize adaptation to the new cultural environment.

Ethnic Identity Components

Phinney and Ong (2007) reviewed the literature regarding the dimensions of ethnic identity and identified: self-categorization and labeling, commitment and attachment, exploration, ethnic behaviors, evaluation and in-group attitudes, values and beliefs, importance and salience, and ethnic identity and national identity. Self-categorization and labeling refers to the attribution that an individual makes regarding their self-identity as a member of a particular group. The distinction of the label as an ethnic or racial one is not as significant as the meaning attributed to the category (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Commitment or attachment is considered the most salient aspect of ethnic identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007) and is linked to exploration. These two components involve a jointly occurring process. If an individual is to develop an achieved identity they must

first undergo a process of exploration. Commitment also includes the concept of belongingness, a feeling of inclusion in a particular ethnic group.

Attitudes toward one's ethnic group are determined by various factors. One of these factors is the experience of discrimination or exposure to negative beliefs about an individual's ethnic group. An achieved ethnic identity helps serve as a protective factor against negative stereotypes (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The importance that one gives to their identity has been found to vary across different ethnic groups. Overall, individuals from ethnic minority groups report greater importance to their ethnicity than members from the dominant culture (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

The dichotomy between ethnic identity and national identity is based largely in part by the work of Berry (1984). In an international study with a large number of immigrant adolescents, Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006) identified the proportion of adolescents who fit into each of four acculturation profiles. The largest profile group was immigrant adolescents who reported both a strong ethnic and national identity. The next largest group was immigrant adolescents who had a strong ethnic but weak national identity. Following this in numbers were adolescents who had a strong national but a weak ethnic affiliation. The smallest group in number was adolescent immigrants who reported a weak national and weak ethnic identity (Berry et al., 2006).

Ethnic behaviors were previously included in ethnic identity measures, but recently these have been viewed as distinct from ethnic identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Similarly, values and beliefs have been considered to be distinct across groups and therefore would be hard to assess for in a measure of ethnic identity designed for use

across groups. Therefore, it is recommended that these components of ethnic identity be assessed separately.

Measures of Ethnic Identity

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) was developed by Phinney (1992) as a way to assess identity development across different cultural groups. Prior to the development of the MEIM, ethnic identity was assessed on a group- by-group basis (Phinney, 1992). This made it difficult to establish whether or not there was a universal concept of ethnic identity that contained features salient across groups. Thus, the MEIM was developed to meet the need for a measure that could assess whether or not there was a general construct of ethnic identity occurring across cultural groups (Phinney, 1992).

Researchers using the MEIM consistently have found that the assessment correlated positively with measures of wellbeing, indicating that a strong ethnic identity is associated with greater psychological functioning (Phinney, 1989; Roberts et al., 1999). The MEIM has been used in studies with a variety of different cultural groups and the most recent iteration, the MEIM-R, is a six-item measure that is based on a two-factor structure involving exploration and commitment (Phinney & Ong, 2007). These factors are consistent with the theory of identity proposed by Marcia (1980). The MEIM-R has three items that address exploration and three items that address commitment factors and can be used to assess the overall strength of ethnic identity (the level of which an individual has an achieved identity) by using the total score (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The MEIM-R assesses ethnic identity utilizing a continuous variable. A low score reflects low interest and awareness of one's ethnicity; whereas, a high score reflects an effort to learn

more about one's background and is evidence of ethnic identity achievement (Roberts et al., 1999).

Ethnic Identity and Resettlement

Ethnic identity has been implicated in the adaptation process of immigrants arriving in the United States (Phinney et al., 2001). Given the numerous transitions that immigrants and refugees encounter upon arrival in the United States, multiple opportunities are presented in which individuals must reconcile differing values, ideals, and behaviors encountered (Schwartz et al., 2010). Thus, acculturation directly shifts and alters an individual's cultural and ethnic identity development (Schwartz et al., 2010).

Phinney et al. (2001) proposed an interactional model of identity and psychological adjustment outcomes. The model involves the reciprocal interactions between the individual and the host country, including contextual factors related to resettlement. This process parallels the acculturation process that was described earlier and Phinney et al. (2001) acknowledge the process of acculturation and ethnic identity have been superimposed upon each other and used interchangeably in the research literature.

Phinney et al. (2001) conceptualized ethnic identity as an aspect of acculturation that can be used as the theoretical framework used to understand the acculturation process (Phinney et al., 2001). In other words, acculturation is the larger umbrella that ethnic identity falls underneath. Phinney et al. (2001) contend that immigrants have varying degrees of attitudes towards preserving their own cultural heritage and adopting the cultural milieu of the host country. Individuals resettling in environments that

discourage pluralism and encourage conformism may result in immigrant groups having difficulty preserving their ethnic identity.

The link between ethnic identity and wellbeing is not straightforward and conflicting findings exist in the literature related to whether or not ethnic versus national identity is of greater importance to psychosocial outcomes. Mental health outcomes related to these various receiving contexts will depend on the attitudes of immigrant and refugee groups regarding adaptation to these different environmental contexts (Phinney et al., 2001). In a study with immigrant adolescents arriving in four different countries, Phinney (1992) found that the participants all had higher scores on ethnic identity versus national identity; however, the level of national identity adoption was different depending on country. This suggests that there are factors related to the context of the receiving country that impact the development of identity. Therefore, there are some contexts that facilitate the development of a bicultural or integrated identity. “When immigrants are not encouraged or allowed to retain their own culture while integrating to the new society, some are likely to feel forced to choose between the two options of separation and assimilation” (Phinney et al., 2001, p. 499). In this same study, adolescents who endorsed integrated identities had higher scores on measure of psychosocial adjustment (Phinney et al., 2001). In contrast, adolescents who endorsed marginalized identities had the lowest scores on these measures. “In sum, our research lends support to the notion that an integrated identity, the combination of strong national and ethnic identities, promotes the most healthy psychological adaptation, whereas low scores on the two identities are related to poor adaptation” (Phinney et al., 2001, p. 502).

Ethnic Identity as a Protective Factor

In a study conducted with a diverse sample of middle school students, Roberts et al. (1999) assessed ethnic identity using the MEIM and also assessed for measures of well-being including self-esteem, coping, optimism, mastery, loneliness, and depression. The results indicated that positive associations between ethnic identity scores and self-esteem, coping, sense of mastery, and optimism and negative correlations for ethnic identity scores and loneliness and depression (Roberts et al., 1999).

Vera et al. (2011) conducted a study with 157 middle school students living in a diverse, urban mid-western city. The researchers were interested in examining the relationship between culturally relevant stressors and wellbeing in order to understand if ethnic identity could moderate the impacts of these stressors. The MEIM-R was used in this study to assess ethnic identity. Positive ethnic identity was associated with an increased frequency of positive feelings and ethnic identity moderated the relationship between discrimination and life satisfaction. Thus, ethnic identity emerged as a factor that may protect adolescents against race-related stress such as discrimination. Thus, interventions that strengthen an individual's ethnic identity salience may be advantageous in increasing the overall mental health and wellbeing of ethnic minority students (Vera et al., 2011).

Ethnic Identity and Refugee Youth

Identity development for refugee youth is complex and involves the consideration of multiple factors including the past in their home country, present circumstances, and future goals (Bash & Zezlina-Phillips, 2006; Bhatia & Ram, 2009). Refugee youth have

experienced many transitions and also may have witnessed various traumatic events; therefore, it is not uncommon for these individuals to experience a sense that everything in their life has significantly changed. Often times, family members do not resettle at the same time and some family members are left behind in the refugee camps. It also is not uncommon for refugee adolescents to resettle separately from their parents (Derluyn et al., 2009; Rothe et al., 2011). The losses that refugees experience have a significant impact on identity development because resettlement alters the adolescent's career and educational trajectory and results in relationship disruptions. This is amplified if the refugee does not have the support or belongingness from individuals within the same social network (van der Veer, 1998).

Refugee youth are a highly diverse group and are characterized by differing levels of access to resources upon arriving to the United States (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010). Refugees resettling in Western countries are often placed in a marginal position in society and this may impact the perception the refugee has of themselves and their status in the surrounding community (van der Veer, 1998). Differences in environments impact the development of a bicultural or integrated identity that has been associated with better psychological outcomes from both psychosocial and developmental perspectives (Phinney et al., 2001; Vera et al., 2011).

While refugee adolescents struggle to adapt to the cultural behaviors and norms of their peers, they are simultaneously trying to negotiate the culture of their parents and grandparents (Bash & Zezlina-Phillips, 2006; Kovacev & Shute, 2004; Phinney & Alipura, 1990). Thus one of the factors involved in their identity development is a

negotiation between these varying norms and values (Phinney et al., 1990). School is one of the main arenas where these differences in norms and values are showcased, thus children are often exposed to more elements and nuances of the new culture than adults. A student's absorption into the new culture can pose both opportunities and challenges. At school, they are able to gain more rapid exposure to the language and cultural behaviors, yet this familiarity with the language may upset cultural roles when children have to translate or interpret for their parents (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008).

Besides the struggle to adapt to their new surroundings and coping with multiple losses, refugee adolescents may also face discrimination and prejudice. Members of minority groups are often not provided with the same opportunities to succeed as those members of the dominant culture. These students may be subjected to negative stereotypes and overt and covert incidences of racism (Correa-Velez et al., 2010; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). These experiences can have a direct impact on refugee students' identity development, resulting in an assault on their self-concept.

Additional research on the identity development of newcomer refugee youth is needed because the applicability of Erikson's theory across cultural groups has been questioned and critics have postulated that the theory may not be applicable to immigrant or refugee groups (Rothe et al., 2011). The constructivist paradigm also questions the applicability of broad theories of identity development to encapsulate the entire adolescent experience, because the very nature of identity acquisition and development is fluid and influenced by the diverse array of learning experiences, life processes, and social relationships that an individual encounters (Rothe et al., 2011).

Ethnic Identity and Academic Outcomes

Fuligni et al. (2005) investigated the impact of self-described ethnic labels on the academic outcomes of a group of ninth grade students from diverse ethnic backgrounds living in Los Angeles, CA. The researchers were interested in understanding if the ethnic labels that adolescents ascribed were more closely related to academic outcomes or if the strength of identification with the labels was more related. Participants in the study were given the opportunity to select among a list of ethnic identity labels and were instructed to endorse as many labels as they felt were applicable. The researchers also asked participants to identify the label that was most salient for them and gave instructions that this could be more than one. On average, adolescents selected three ethnicity labels as descriptors. Even with the ability to list multiple significant identities, participants overwhelmingly identified a singular label. The results of the study indicated that the strength of the labels was more closely related to academic outcomes than the specific labels selected (Fuligni et al., 2005).

Weaver (2010) conducted a study with 122 high school students, the majority of whom were Caucasian or African-American. Weaver (2010) wanted to test the relationship between cultural identity and academic success mediated by resilience factors. In this study cultural identity was assessed using the MEIM-R and resilience was conceptualized as scores on measures of optimism, self-efficacy, interpersonal sensitivity, and emotional control. The outcome variable, academic success, was assessed through students' reported grade point averages. Regression analyses did not support the hypothesized model because there was no relationship found between cultural identity

and grade point average; however, there were positive relationships between cultural identity and all of the factors associated with resilience. This indicates that a strong cultural identity can serve as a protective factor in coping with adversity. The strongest correlation was between cultural identity and self-efficacy, which is supported by social identity theorists. A strong ethnic identity is directly related to an individual's confidence in completing tasks, which has significant implications for students at school. It is interesting to note that the only measure of academic success was grade point average and it would have been interesting to see if cultural identity would have predicted scores on academic adjustment. This study highlights the importance of examining ethnic identity when considering the academic success of students.

Ethnic Identity and School Adjustment

School adjustment has generally been viewed as the major developmental task for youth (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Furthermore, when considering overall psychosocial adjustment researchers have posited that school adjustment may be a better indicator of overall adjustment because of how many of the transition stressors are enacted within the school environment (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Similarly to studies regarding the influence of social capital, studies that have investigated school adjustment as an outcome factor and its relation to cultural identity have also tended to examine the influence of parental factors. This has been done at the exclusion of investigating the impact of peer relationships on these same variables.

In a study with Vietnamese refugee youth living in Finland, Liebkind et al. (2004) found that perceived discrimination had an indirect effect on school adjustment by

decreasing self-esteem and increasing stress, but that parental support buffered the negative impacts of this discrimination. Therefore, students who had experienced discrimination had lower school adjustment; however, students who had higher levels of parental support seemed to be protected from the negative effects of discrimination. Experiencing discrimination also tended to lower the students' ethnic identity; whereas, parental support tended to increase ethnic identity. Further studies are needed to ascertain the role of peer relationships on the school adjustment and cultural identity of newcomer refugee adolescents in order to determine if these relationships could serve as a protective factor in a way that parallels the role of parental relationships.

Kiang, Supple, Stein, and Gonzalez (2012) conducted a study with 172 Asian American high school students living in the Southeast. These students were predominantly second-generation immigrant students (i.e. students who were born in the United States but whose parents were born in another country). Approximately, one quarter of the sample was first-generation, newcomer immigrant students. The participants represented a diversity of ethnicities within the Asian community including Laotian and Thai groups from Southeast Asia. Ethnic groups from Burma, such as the Karen, were not represented in this study (Kiang et al., 2012).

The researchers were interested in investigating gender differences in the academic adjustment of Asian immigrant youth living in burgeoning immigrant communities, citing Bronfrenbrenner's ecological model as a basis for the importance of examining multiple community and school environments as they relate to the academic adjustment of immigrant youth (Kiang et al., 2012). Traditionally, studies with immigrant

youth have been examined within the context of largely populated, dense urban areas. There may be differences in the adjustment of immigrant youth who are living in less dense and less heterogeneously diverse suburban or rural areas of the United States who have less historically been represented among immigrant communities and thus are less likely to live within ethnic urban enclaves. Accordingly, it would be important to assess different familial, school, and individual factors that may influence school adjustment. As such, researchers assessed for familial factors including family respect and family obligation (Kiang et al., 2012). School factors were assessed based on an individual's sense of connectedness to the school, how much an individual feels that the school reflects a part of their self-concept, and discrimination. Additionally, researchers assessed for individual factors related to school adjustment such as an individual's academic goals, academic expectation, intrinsic motivation, and the importance of school (Kiang et al., 2012). Ethnic identity was measured using the MEIM in order to assess for ethnic identity belonging and exploration (Kiang et al., 2012).

Adolescents in the Kiang et al. (2012) study were identified through their high schools and a questionnaire packet was completed at school. Researchers reported significant gender differences between males and females on academic goals, intrinsic motivation, and value placed on school. For each of these constructs, females reported higher scores than males. Ethnic identity exploration and belonging were related to the four academic outcomes (Kiang et al., 2012). Ethnic identity exploration and family respect were found to mediate the relationship between gender and academic goals (Kiang et al., 2012). Thus, the authors concluded that a potential intervention to improve

the academic outcomes of Asian American males might be to increase familial relationships and encourage ethnic identity development (Kiang et al., 2012).

Although Kiang et al. (2012) do not conceptualize this through a framework of bonding social capital, what they seem to imply is that bonding social capital developed from supportive familial and community contexts is implicated in the academic adjustment of Asian American immigrant youth. Given, that an ecological model has proven advantageous in examining the school adjustment of newcomer youth, it would be important to investigate another context level that may be related to these outcomes, namely these students' relationships with one another. Additional studies may benefit from investigating not only the perceptions of connectedness and belonging to the school, but also the perceptions of connectedness and belonging that individuals feel with peer members of their cultural group.

These studies examining the relationship between ethnic identity and minority youth indicate that ethnic identity can serve as an important protective factor. Little is still known, however, about how ethnic identity might be related to school adjustment for newcomer refugee youth. In the studies that included immigrant students in their samples, they did not specify whether or not immigrant students had refugee status. Additionally, studies examining ethnic identity have not assessed this conjointly with social capital. Given that we are able to implicate the importance of examining ethnic identity when looking at the school adjustment of newcomer youth, it may be advantageous to also examine social capital variables when investigating these academic outcomes. Social capital has already been highlighted as an important construct in refugee school

adjustment and the aforementioned study also highlights how it could strengthen studies involving the relationships between cultural identity, contextual factors, and school adjustment.

Online Identity Development

Researchers have established that adolescents are now using online communication technologies, such as SNS, to showcase their emerging identities (Diaz, Thompson, & DeGennaro, 2010). Facebook has become a communicative platform for adolescents to implicitly and explicitly self-disclose information related to thoughts, feelings, and life events (Zhao, Grasmuck, & Martin, 2008). Individuals post status updates as a way to convey feelings and experiences to members of their network (Young, 2011). Researchers have established that a high level of congruence exists between adolescent self-presentation on Facebook and self-presentation in their offline world (Back et al., 2010; Moreno et al., 2011; Wright & Li, 2011). Adolescents have the ability to express thoughts to Friends either publicly on profile pages or privately through the message feature.

Online cultural identity development. Grasmuck, Martin, and Zhao (2009) conducted a content analysis of 63 college students from diverse ethnic backgrounds including students who were second-generation immigrants. The participants included African American, Latino, Indian, and Vietnamese ethnicities. The purpose of the study was to investigate cultural identity expression differences among students from differing ethnic groups. The authors acknowledged that a dearth of research exists examining the presentation of cultural identities on online SNS.

The authors conceptualized identity presentation on Facebook as occurring in three distinct ways, ranging from explicit to implicit presentations (Grasmuck et al., 2009). The first is the most implicit and involves individuals posting pictures and wall posts shared on their Facebook profile. The next involves listing cultural preferences such as music, movies, and quotes. The final presentation is the most explicit and includes the information that individuals post about themselves in the About Me section (Grasmuck et al., 2009).

The authors found that there were distinct differences in all three categories among students from different ethnic groups (Grasmuck et al., 2009). African-American, Latino, and Indian students in general tended to display more group-oriented and racially aware identities, as well as, incorporated quotes or information that were religious or spiritual in nature (Grasmuck et al., 2009). Students from these ethnic backgrounds communicated a sense of belongingness related to their ethnic group, thus they often communicated more often with members of their same ethnic group. Vietnamese students conveyed a theme related to resentment over social exclusion. Grasmuck et al. (2009) concluded that there is an established presence among ethnic minority groups on Facebook and members of these groups are utilizing this space as an outlet of identity production.

Wilding (2008) alluded to the impact that online technologies may have on the identity development of adolescent refugee youth. Refugee adolescents must simultaneously negotiate the developmental changes associated with impending adulthood and the changes inherent in the resettlement process (Wilding, 2008). Thus,

the process of identity development for refugee youth is made more complex as they begin to understand the repercussions of their status as refugees within the larger society, the conflicting expectations between family and school peers, and the expanding possibilities of reconstituting themselves as students in the United States (Wilding, 2008). Social networking sites may become an outlet for identity expression of refugee youth in which these students are able to communicate their individual identity within a self-selected social environment (Wilding, 2008).

School counselors may want to consider how social networking sites facilitate the identity development of newcomer refugee youth. These sites may assist newcomer refugee youth in constructing and articulating their identities. Additionally, social networking sites provide newcomer students the ability to reconstitute their social network with friends remaining in refugee camps or in the adolescent' s home country along with same culture friends unknown prior to arrival.

Summary

The increasing number of adolescent refugees entering schools in the United States makes it critical to further understand the factors that contribute to successful school adjustment. These adolescents have faced multiple losses in their transition to the United States, including separation from their family and friends, the culture of their youth, and the dream of returning to their home country. These separations have an impact on the developing sense of identity and this process becomes more complex when they resettle to the United States and are surrounded by peers that communicate in a

different language and were raised in different cultural environments with differing values and expectations for the journey into adulthood.

Facebook is a way for these newcomer refugee adolescents to connect with other individuals from their same cultural group dispersed around the world. The opportunity to connect with and share the experiences of resettlement offers social support and a sense of belonging associated with bonding social capital. The ability to provide social support through Facebook has important implications for work with refugee newcomer adolescents. Researchers have identified a lack of information concerning newcomers' perceptions of social support, acknowledging that social support can be defined differently among various cultural groups (Stewart et al., 2008). Social support has been linked to increases in newcomers' experiences of belonging but newcomers often have difficult accessing this support when transitioning to a new country. Helping newcomer adolescents utilize Facebook may be a way to create connections among newcomer adolescents and provide an avenue for the facilitation of social support.

This social capital could be the investment needed for newcomer adolescent refugees to successfully adjust to the new school environment.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In Chapter I, the purpose and the need for the study were presented. In Chapter II, the review of the literature supports the hypothesis that a relationships exists between Facebook use and school adjustment and that this relationship may be influenced by ethnic identity and bonding social capital. In this chapter, the design and methodology of the study are presented. Specifically, the research questions and hypotheses for the study are provided. The population from which the research participants will be drawn from as well as the number of participants and a description are presented. The variables (i.e., Facebook use, bonding social capital, ethnic identity, and school adjustment) and assessment instruments are described and the procedures for recruiting the participants and study procedures are explained. Additionally, the data analyses procedures, initial pilot study, results and limitations are included and discussed.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The purpose of this study is to explore the social network composition of newcomer refugee Karen students on Facebook based on whether their networks are primarily composed of peers with the same ethnic identity (same-ethnic peers) or peers with a different ethnic identity (cross-ethnic peers). Specifically, the researcher aims to investigate whether Facebook is primarily used by newcomer refugee Karen high school students to facilitate the development of bonding social capital with peers with the same

ethnic identity. Additionally, the researcher will explore how the relationships between Facebook use, ethnic identity, bonding social capital, and school adjustment. The research questions and hypotheses for testing are presented below:

RQ1. What is the size (numerical counts of friends) of Karen refugee adolescents' friendships at school and on Facebook?

H1. There is no prior statistical information available for this particular group of newcomer adolescents; however, researchers have reported an average of 5 school friends for a sample of ethnically diverse high school students (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2005) and an average of 220 Facebook Friends for a sample of adolescent high school students (Christofides, Muise, & Desmarais, 2011). It is hypothesized that newcomer students will report similar numbers for friends at school and on Facebook.

RQ2. What is the composition of Karen refugee adolescents' friendships (ratio of same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friends; ratio of close/same-ethnic friends versus close/cross-ethnic friends?

H2. Significant mean differences will exist in the number of same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friendships. Specifically, newcomer students will report higher means for same-ethnic friendships. Significant mean differences will exist in the number of close/same-ethnic friends versus close/cross-ethnic friends. Specifically, newcomer students will report higher means for close/same-ethnic friendships.

RQ3. What are the mean differences in bonding social capital for individuals with greater numbers of same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friendships on Facebook?

H3. Significant mean differences will exist on bonding social capital for individuals with greater numbers of same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friendships on Facebook. Specifically, mean scores on bonding social capital will be higher for individuals with larger numbers of same-ethnic friendships versus cross-ethnic friendships.

RQ4. What are the relationships between bonding social capital, Facebook use, ethnic identity, and school adjustment?

H4. The hypothesized path model specifying a relationship between Facebook use, ethnic identity, bonding social capital, and school adjustment will account for a statistically significant portion of the variance in school adjustment scores.

Participants

The population of interest in this study were Karen newcomer refugee adolescents between the ages of 14-21 enrolled in grades 9-12. In order to participate, adolescents must have resided in the United States for a period of 1-6 years, as recommended in the literature (Ryabov, 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010). A power analyses indicated a sample of 128 was necessary for an effect size of .25 and power of .80 to compare means using a one-way ANOVA. Given a hypothesized path model with 4 variables and 10 estimated parameters, at least 100 participants would be needed to test the model. Thus, the researcher aimed for a sample size of 128 to be able to analyze the research questions.

The study was limited to adolescents belonging to the Karen cultural group in an attempt to explore the experiences of one specific refugee group. Although this limited generalizability it did allow for the researcher to control for cultural related differences. High school adolescents were selected because individuals at this age range are negotiating the task of identity development and previous researchers have identified this developmental stage as being particularly sensitive to the resettlement process (García-Coll & Magnusson, 1997; Phinney et al., 1990; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008).

The 6-year distinction ensured that participants were first-generation, newcomer refugees (Ryabov, 2009). Previous studies with refugee students used a range of 1-7 years in the United States to define a newcomer refugee (Chuang, 2010; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). In other studies (Kitecki, 2011), the 1-year mark was used as a way to ensure that refugee youth participants would have enough familiarity with English as a second language to answer study questions in English.

Several steps were identified to ensure cutural sensitivity and adherence to ethical guidelines. In an effort to further the researcher's understanding of the culture and experiences of Karen refugees, the researcher attended Karen cultural events and read extensively on the experiences of Karen refugees. The researcher developed relatonships with members of the Karen community who served as cultural brokers and gave input on the methodology proposed for the study. Cultural brokers were selected based on their familiarity with the Karen culture and their ability to speak Karen and English fluently. One of the cultural brokers was an American citizen who worked in a Karen refugee camp in Thailand for approximately twenty years. This cultural broker was involved in

starting a Karen church, frequently serving as a translator and interpreter for Karen families. The second cultural broker was a Karen refugee from Burma who lived in a Thai refugee camp for over ten years before resettling in the United States. She was currently enrolled as a junior at the same university as the researcher. Initially, the researcher used the assistance of cultural brokers to identify potential participants. Snowball sampling was also be used to obtain participants for the study.

Instrumentation

Participants completed four instruments to measure the variables in the present study along with a demographics questionnaire. Facebook engagement and Amount of Facebook Use was measured by the Facebook Intensity Scale (Ellison et al., 2007). Ethnic identity was measured by The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure—Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Bonding social capital was measured by scores on the Social Provisions Scale (Cutrona & Russell, 1987). School adjustment was measured using the School Adjustment—Child Questionnaire (CPPRG, 1997). Composition of friendship networks at school and on Facebook was measured by the demographic questionnaire. This compilation of instruments can be found in Appendix A.

The researcher sought input from cultural brokers regarding language preference for completing the measures. The cultural brokers indicated that participants would have enough familiarity with English to complete the survey questions in English. Although total scores for each instrument were used, Table 1 outlines the number of items for each instrument, subscales, and published alpha coefficients.

Table 1

Instrumentation Subscales and Published Alpha Coefficients

Instrument	# of Items	Subscales	Alphas
Facebook Intensity Scale	8	N/A	.83
Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised	6	Exploration	.76
		Commitment	.78
		Total	.81
Social Provisions Scale	16	Attachment	.79
		Reliable Alliance	.83
		Guidance	.82
		Social Integration	.67
		Total	.92
School Adjustment—Child Questionnaire	20	Relationships with Other Students	.74
		Academic and Disciplinary Difficulties	.76
		General Aspects of School and Teachers	.75
Demographic Questionnaire	24	N/A	N/A

Demographics Questionnaire

A demographic survey was developed to supplement and obtain additional demographic information about participants. Participants were asked their age, year in high school, age of arrival in the United States, length of time in the United States, gender, country of birth, language spoken at home, language spoken at school, preferred language, ethnic identification, and number of schools attended in the past year. Additionally, participants were asked questions regarding the composition of friends at school and on Facebook.

Facebook Friend Composition

Questions on the demographics survey asked participants to identify types of friendships on Facebook. Participants were asked to identify the number of friends they would describe as same-ethnic friends and the number of friends they would identify as cross-ethnic friends. A similar method was used in a study conducted by Chan and Birman (2009) to assess the composition of Vietnamese immigrant high school students' friendship networks based on whether these networks were primarily composed of other Vietnamese students, referred to as same-race friendships, or students from other racial groups, referred to as cross-race friendships. In this study, the composition of networks was compared based on the percentage of same-race versus cross-race friendships.

For the purposes of this study, the composition of same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friendships on Facebook was assessed using the questions, " Approximately, how many of your TOTAL Facebook friends share the same culture as you?" and 'Approximately, how many of your TOTAL Facebook friends have a different culture than you?" Based on the numerical responses of participants, a ratio was obtained by dividing the number of same-ethnic and cross-ethnic friends by the number of total friends. Once the ratio was obtained the individual was categorized as larger same-ethnic friendships or larger cross-ethnic friendships.

Additionally, the researcher assessed for the closeness of these same-ethnic and cross-ethnic friendships. Relational closeness has been measured in previous studies examining the online social networks of college students living in Korea compared to those living in the United States (Choi et al., 2011). Choi et al. (2011) asked respondents

to categorize the number of Friends they had on SNS as a way to measure network size and composition. The authors collapsed these categories into strong versus weak ties. Close family and friends were considered strong ties and classmates and acquaintances were considered weak ties (Choi et al., 2011.) A ratio was obtained by dividing the number of strong ties by the number of weak ties (Choi et al., 2011). Ellison, Steinfield, et al. (2011) measured relational closeness by asking participants to qualify how many of their total friends were considered actual friends. A ratio was then obtained by dividing the number of actual friends by the number of total friends. For the purpose of this study, two questions were asked to ascertain how many of respondents' cross-ethnic and same-ethnic friends on Facebook are considered close friends. Specifically, the questions, "Of these Facebook friends that have a different culture than you, how many would you consider close friends?" and "Of these Facebook friends that share the same culture as you, how many would you consider close friends?" The numerical responses to these questions were used to obtain a ratio of close/same-ethnic versus close/cross-ethnic friendships.

Facebook Use

Amount of Facebook Use and emotional engagement with Facebook was measured using the Facebook Intensity Scale (Ellison et al., 2007). The Facebook Intensity Scale was created because traditional approaches for measuring Internet use did not assess for the frequency or duration of exposure to social networking sites and failed to capture an individual's level of psychological engagement with the site (Ellison et al., 2007). Initially utilized in a study examining the relationship between Facebook use and

social capital (Ellison et al., 2007) the Facebook Intensity Scale contains six Likert-scale items used to measure users' attitudes about the site along with two behavioral questions related to number of "Friends" on the site and daily minutes spent on the site. The Likert-scale ranges from 1 representing "strongly disagree" and 5 representing "strongly agree." An example of a Likert-type scale item includes, "I feel out of touch when I haven't logged onto Facebook for a while" (Ellison et al., 2007).

The authors have suggested that the behavioral questions related to number of Friends and duration of time spent on the site may be asked in an open-ended or closed-ended format. The close-ended option includes having the respondent answer based on selecting among a category of responses in order to obtain a mean score. The authors allow for the researcher to adjust the scaling options based on the study population. The total score on the measure is obtained by calculating the mean of all scale items. The reliability estimates for the scale was reported as .83 (Ellison et al., 2007).

A recent iteration of the Facebook Intensity Scale included the addition of a question to assess for the types of relationships developed and maintained on Facebook (Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011). In addition to asking about length of membership on Facebook, amount of time spent on the site in the past week, and amount of total Facebook "Friends," the authors asked a question about "actual" versus "total" "Friends" (Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011). This was asked as an open-ended question and was worded as, "Approximately how many of your TOTAL 'Friends' do you consider actual friends?" (Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011). The authors were intentional about not providing a definition of "actual" friend in order to allow for the respondent to interpret

their own meaning. In this study, respondents reported an average of 300 total friends and 75 actual friends and indicated that the ratio of actual to total friends was 1:4 (Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011). The researchers used SPSS to obtain the squared term of actual friends to allow for curvilinear analyses (Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011).

Although, the Facebook Intensity Scale has not been previously used with refugee adolescents it has been used in countries outside the United States, including a study conducted with Italian high school students in which the measure was translated into Italian (Tomai et al., 2010). This study was conducted with 15-19 year-old students at a large high school in Italy. The authors divided the scale into 2 factors: emotional involvement and site usage (Tomai et al., 2010). The emotional involvement factor included the six Likert-scale attitudinal items from the Facebook Intensity Scale and the site usage factor included the two open-ended questions from the Facebook Intensity Scale. Reliability estimates for these factors were .84 and .81, respectively. The authors included two additional questions for the site usage factor related to how often they used the site and frequency of posting on the site (Tomai et al., 2010).

Similarly to the Tomai et al. (2010) study, in the present study the Facebook Intensity Scale was used to assess emotional engagement with the site and the open-ended questions regarding amount of Facebook friends and amount of daily use were not included in the total scale score. Responses to the question regarding amount of daily use were employed to obtain an Amount of Facebook Use score that was used to test Research Question 4.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity was measured using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney & Ong, 2007). The MEIM-R was developed by researchers to meet the need for an ethnic identity measure that could be used to assess ethnic identity across diverse ethnic groups (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The measure contains six items that assess two factors: exploration and commitment. Items are assessed on a Likert scale with (1) representing "strongly disagree" and (5) representing "strongly agree," and with (3) as a neutral position. The score can be calculated as the mean of the items on the Exploration (α = .76) and Commitment (α = .78) subscales or as a mean score for both subscales combined (α = .81). Higher scores indicate stronger ethnic identity. Cluster analysis may be used with the two subscales to derive ethnic identity statuses.

The MEIM-R has sound psychometrics and went through several phases of testing before its final iteration. A 12-item version of the MEIM was pilot tested with a diverse sample of high school students from four ethnic minority backgrounds, including African Americans, Mexican Americans, Vietnamese Americans, and Armenian Americans (Phinney & Baldelomar, 2006). This version contained two fewer items and slight changes in wording to make the items applicable to past or present actions. The current 6-item version of the MEIM-R was the outcome of additional testing on a 10-item version of the MEIM with a diverse sample of college students. This study resulted in further support for the 2-factor structure of the inventory and resulted in 3 items assessing exploration and 3 items assessing commitment.

The MEIM-R has been used in research studies with culturally diverse samples (Lin, 2008; Ojeda et al., 2012). Ojeda et al. (2012) used the scale with a sample of 338 Latino middle school students ages 12-15 and achieved a reliability estimate of .80. Lin (2008) used the MEIM-R with a sample of 186, 16-26-year old Asian international students studying in New Zealand and achieved a reliability estimate of .87.

Bonding Social Capital

Bonding social capital was measured in this study using the Social Provisions Scale (Cutrona & Russell, 1987). The authors developed the Social Provisions Scale to fulfill the need for a social support instrument that had high test-retest reliability, was sensitive to changes in available social support, reflected the multidimensional nature of the construct, and provided discriminant validity for the uniqueness of the construct (Cutrona & Russell, 1987). The Social Provisions Scale utilized the work of Robert Weiss (1974) as a conceptual framework. Weiss identified six distinct social provisions as outcomes of social relationships. The provisions have been subsumed under the categories of assistance related, non-assistance related, and presence of affectional ties. The guidance and reliable alliance provisions are considered assistance related provisions. Reassurance of worth and opportunity for nurturance are considered non-assistance related provisions. Attachment and social integration are provisions that reflect the presence of affectional ties.

The Social Provisions Scale is a 24-item measure that contains 4 questions for each of the 6 social provisions. Two items for each scale are worded negatively and two items are worded positively. Items are measured on a 4-point Likert scale with 1

representing “strongly disagree” and 4 representing “strongly agree.” Reliability of the 24-item scale was obtained through testing with a sample of 1792 participants. Reliability estimates for the scales were, .75 for attachment, .67 for social integration, .67 for reassurance of worth, .65 for reliable alliance, .76 for guidance, .66 for opportunity for nurturance. The alpha for the total scale score was .92. Scores on the Social Provisions Scale are obtained by adding the scores for each subscale. Higher scores indicate the presence of that provision. Items that are negatively worded should be reversed before scoring.

Factor analyses of the Social Provisions Scale reflected six, single order factors based on the six provisions and a single, second-order factor that seemed to be related to general social support (Cutrona & Russell, 1987). Further testing of the scale designed to assess discriminant validity (Cutrona & Russell, 1987) indicated that scores on the Social Provisions Scale were significantly correlated with other measures of social support demonstrating convergent validity. Additionally, scores on the Social Provisions Scale were significantly negatively correlated with constructs such as depression and neuroticism (Cutrona & Russell, 1987).

The Social Provisions Scale was recently used by researchers interested in investigating the development of bonding social capital on online SNS (Vitak et al., 2011). The scale was selected by these researchers as a way to overcome the geographic boundedness implicit in other social capital measures (Vitak et al., 2011), such as Williams’s (2006) Internet Social Capital Scale. The authors selected three of the provision subscales to use as a general measure of bonding social capital: attachment (α

= .79), reliable alliance (α = .83), and guidance (α = .82). The reliability coefficients obtained in this study were much higher than the ones used to validate the scale (Cutrona & Russell, 1987). The authors selected these three sub-scales because of their association with close personal relationships (Vitak et al., 2011). The conceptual framework of the scale based on the work of Weiss highlights that different relationships are associated with different provisions. For example, familial ties are often more closely associated with the reliable alliance provision. By definition, bonding social capital is accrued through these close relationship ties and is associated with social support (Putnam, 2000).

In the current study, the researcher used the three provisions used in the Vitak et al. (2011) study along with the social integration provision subscale. Weiss highlighted the social integration provision as being more closely associated with friendships. Given the nature of this study, it seemed important to investigate scores on this provision scale as well. Additionally, bonding social capital has been linked to a sense of belongingness that appears to be measured by items on this scale. An example of an item is, " I feel part of a group of people who share my attitudes and beliefs." The researcher used the total scale score for all statistical analyses.

School Adjustment

A team of researchers designed the School Adjustment—Child Questionnaire (CPRRG, 1997) for the Fast Track Project. The Fast Track Project is a longitudinal, intervention research study that follows three cohorts of participants from childhood to adulthood. The participants are from the communities of Durham, North Carolina, Nashville, Tennessee, rural Pennsylvania, and Seattle, Washington. The study has

received support from researchers at Duke, Vanderbilt, Penn State, and Washington universities (Fast Track Project, 2012). The initial cohort of participants was recruited in 1991 and subsequent cohorts were recruited over the next two years. The purpose of the project was to assess the influence of academic tutoring and social skills lessons on behavior regulation (Fast Track Project, 2012). As a part of this project, the researchers have made available extensive data on the instruments used in the study. Instruments created by the project researchers are available for others to use.

The School Adjustment—Child Questionnaire (CPRRG, 1997) was developed by Fast Track researchers to assess participants' beliefs about their current adjustment to school. The scale contains 20 items that are assessed on a five-point Likert scale. Participants are asked to respond to statements based on how true they are for them with (1) representing "Never True" and (5) representing "Always True." The scale also contains one "yes" or "no" question regarding whether the participant has changed schools in the past year. Items containing negatively worded responses should be reversed before scoring. Higher scores are indicative of better school adjustment, whereas lower scores indicate poorer school adjustment.

The psychometrics of the scale have been published for participants who took the scale while in high school (Fast Track Project, 2012). Three subscales have been identified on the School Adjustment—Child Questionnaire: Relationships with Other Students (α =.74), Academic and Disciplinary Difficulties (α = .76), and General Aspects about the School and Teachers (α = .75) (Corrigan, 2003). The Relationships with Other Students subscale has been found to have a ceiling effect with a normative sample of

students (Corrigan, 2003) and thus caution may need to be employed when interpreting the results on this subscale. The School Adjustment—Child Questionnaire has not been previously used with refugee students. In this study, a total scale score was used for statistical analyses.

Procedures

The refugee experience presents a number of challenges to traditional research methods. There are specific cultural considerations when working with refugee populations that are important for researchers to consider including unfamiliarity with traditional research methodology and hesitancy regarding the formality involved with procedures such as signed consent (Ellis, Kia-Keating, Yusuf, Lincoln, & Nur, 2007). Many refugees may be wary of signing documents or are hesitant to provide personal information because of the requirements involved in obtaining and maintaining refugee status (Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007).

Several steps were taken by the researcher to ensure cultural sensitivity, cultural responsiveness, and adherence to ethical standards. Cultural brokers were used to educate the researcher on the cultural experiences of the Karen community and to ensure that the questions in the survey would be understood in a cross-cultural context. Cultural brokers were either members of the Karen community or had worked closely with the Karen community for several years in the communities of Greensboro, North Carolina and Carrboro, North Carolina.

Cultural brokers were used to recruit potential participants in an attempt to decrease apprehension or mistrust regarding participation in formal research. Initially, the

cultural brokers provided information about the study to participants by distributing recruitment flyers, emailing contacts whom met study requirements, or through posting the recruitment flyer and study link on their Facebook profile. Snowball sampling, wherein initial participants recruited by cultural brokers were invited to share the link to the study with others potential participants in their network, was utilized because it had been used successfully in previous studies with refugee populations. Participants were invited at study completion to share the link to the study on their Facebook profile or to email other potential participants with the link.

The study was completed online using the survey software program Qualtrics, Version 38768 (Qualtrics Labs Inc., Provo, UT). The survey contained five questionnaires: the Facebook Intensity scale (FBI; Ellison et al., 2007), the Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure—Revised (MEIM-R, Phinney & Ong, 2007), the Social Provisions Scale (Cutrona & Russell, 1987), the School Adjustment—Child Questionnaire (CPRRG, 1997), and a demographic questionnaire created by the researcher for this study. Partipants taking the Qualtrics survey had the autonomy to choose the location of the computer they used to complete the survey and could choose what time they took the survey. The Qualtrics survey did not have to be completed all at once and participants could choose to save their responses and return to the survey as many times as needed to answer the questions.

The survey questions were not of a sensitive nature, but a statement appeared at the end of the survey asking participants to email the researcher with any concerns or problems. If a participant emailed that they had been distressed by the questions, the

researcher would have provided information about speaking to their school counselor. Participants were reminded in the consent form that they could stop at any time.

The online consent form for individuals under 18 years of age was available in Karen and the parent/guardian had to select the "Click to Accept" before continuing. Any participants under 18 years of age gave their assent to agree to participate by selecting "Click to Accept." Students completed the measures in English and the researcher received feedback from cultural brokers to ensure that the language in the surveys was clear and easily understood. There was an option to print the consent form so that every individual completing the survey could have a copy. Participants were not asked for any identifiable information and responses were anonymized through a feature in Qualtrics (Qualtrics, Provo, UT) that prevented the collection of participants' IP addresses. Information from the Qualtrics surveys was saved on a database and stored on the researcher's personal computer that was password protected. Individuals completing the survey were eligible for a $5 Target gift card, and entered their email address on a separate Qualtrics survey page that was not connected to the survey responses.

Analysis of Data

Prior to examining the hypotheses, descriptive information on demographics and the measurements was obtained to provide a profile of SNS use among newcomers and to verify whether the conditions for application of path analysis were fulfilled. Cronbach's alpha coefficients were computed to examine the reliability of the measures utilized in the study.

Hypothesis 1

To determine the mean number of Friends on newcomer students' Facebook sites and at school a mean was obtained from descriptive data provided.

Hypothesis 2

To test hypothesis 2, *t*-tests were used to compare the difference in mean numbers of same-ethnic and cross-ethnic friends. Then, a ratio of cross-ethnic friends to same-ethnic friends on Facebook was obtained and compared using t-tests. Once the ratio had been calculated the individual was categorized as larger same-ethnic friendships (1), larger cross-ethnic friendships (2), or blended network (3).

Hypothesis 3

ANOVA was used to test Hypothesis 3, that mean scores on bonding social capital would be greater for larger same-culture friendship networks.

Hypothesis 4

To test Hypothesis 4, a path analysis was utilized to examine the relationships between the variables using the maximum likelihood estimate in LISREL 8.80 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 2007). The hypothesized path model specified a relationship between Facebook use and school adjustment, mediated by cultural identification and bonding social capital that accounted for a statistically significant portion of the variance in school adjustment scores. The evaluation of absolute model fit was based on chi-square (with a significance level of less than .05 indicating adequate fit), the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA < .01), the Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR <

0.1) and the Comparative Fit Index (CFI > .90) (Kelloway, 1998; Kline, 2005; Schumaker & Lomax, 2004).

The research questions, hypotheses, variables of interest, and analyses are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Research Questions, Hypotheses, Variables of Interest, and Data Analysis

Hypothesis	Variables	Measure	Analysis
Research Question 1: What is the size (numerical counts of friends) of Karen refugee adolescents' friendships at school and on Facebook?			
Hypothesis 1: Newcomer students will report approximately 5 school friends and approximately 220 Facebook Friends.	Facebook Friends Friends at School	Demographic Questionnaire	Numerical Counts
Research Question 2: What is the composition of Karen refugee adolescents' friendships (ratio of same-ethnic vs. cross-ethnic friends; ratio of close/same-ethnic friends versus close/cross-ethnic friends)?			
Hypothesis 2: Significant differences will exist in the number of friendships reported for each category. Specifically, newcomer students will report higher means for close/same-ethnic friends.	Facebook Friends	Demographic Questionnaire	*t*-tests
Research Question 3: What are the mean differences in bonding social capital for individuals with greater numbers of cross-ethnic versus same-ethnic Facebook friendships?			
Hypothesis 3: Significant differences will exist on mean scores on bonding social capital for individuals with greater numbers of same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friendships on Facebook. Specifically, mean scores on bonding social capital will be higher for individuals with larger numbers of same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friendships on Facebook.	**Dependent**: Bonding Social Capital **Independent**: Types of Friendship Network	Social Provisions Scale (interval) Demographics Questionnaire (nominal)	ANOVA

Table 2 (cont.)

Hypothesis	Variables	Measure	Analysis
Research Question 4: What are the relationships between bonding social capital, Facebook use, ethnic identity, and school adjustment?			
Hypothesis 4: The hypothesized path model specifying a relationship between Facebook use and school adjustment mediated by ethnic identification and bonding social capital will account for a statistically significant portion of the variance in school adjustment scores.	**Predictor**: Facebook Use **Mediators**: Ethnic Identity Bonding Social Capital **Outcome**: School Adjustment	Facebook Intensity Scale (interval) MEIM-R (interval) Social Provisions Scale (interval) School Adjustment-Child Questionnaire (interval)	Path Analysis

Pilot Study

The researcher conducted a pilot study with adolescent newcomer refugee adolescents to determine the feasibility of using an online Qualtrics study with this population. Additionally, the researcher wanted to test the appropriateness of the survey instruments with Karen high school students. The pilot consisted of two phases. The first phase of the pilot study was designed to solicit information regarding the content and design of the Qualtrics survey. In the first phase, the researcher consulted with a Karen cultural broker regarding the readability of the survey instruments. The cultural broker also provided feedback regarding the methodology of the study. The researcher then consulted the dissertation co-chair regarding the design of the online survey. Phase two of

the pilot included a field test of the Qualtrics survey with a small group of Karen newcomer adolescent refugee high school students.

The lack of research on SNS use with refugee adolescents made it necessary to investigate descriptive information about how often Karen adolescent refugee newcomer students utilize SNS. Given that no previous studies have utilized online surveys with newcomer adolescent refugees, the pilot also was designed to test the feasibility of this method. The pilot study, therefore, was designed to obtain preliminary information about Facebook use for newcomer refugee adolescents and to inform decisions about procedures and implementation for the larger study. This section provides an overview of the pilot study research questions, methodology, and impact on the larger study.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The pilot study was designed to obtain descriptive information about Facebook use among Karen newcomer adolescent refugee high school students. The pilot study also was designed to test the appropriateness of using the online Qualtrics survey with this sample. The following research questions were examined.

Research Question 1:How often are adolescent newcomer Karen refugee adolescents using Facebook?

Research Question 2: What is the average time it takes for adolescent newcomer Karen refugee adolescents to take the Qualtrics survey online?

Research Question 3: What is the average number of questions skipped by participants on the online Qualtrics survey? Were there specific questions that were consistently skipped by participants?

Research Question 4: What problems did participants encounter taking the Qualtrics survey online?

Participants

Participants were five Karen newcomer refugee high school students. Of the five participants that began the survey, only four participants completed all the survey questions. The one participant who did not continue the survey was under eighteen years of age and stopped the survey after the parental consent form was presented on the screen. On the Qualtrics survey the parental consent form appears in both Karen and English and a statement is included below the form asking participants to select from two options. The first option is "Click to Accept" acknowledging that the parent has read the paragraph, agreed to allow their child to participate, and that they are the parent/guardian of the child. The second option is to "Leave the Study." The "Leave the Study" choice was selected by this participant and/or the participant's parent. Thus, four participants were included in the final pilot study results.

These participants ranged in age from 17 to 20 years (M = 18, SD = 1.41). All participants were currently enrolled in high school as seniors. Three participants reported their gender as male on the open-ended response question asking about gender. One of the students reported their gender "as my brother." Three students had been living in the United States for five years and one student reported living in the United States for four years. All four participants resettled in the United States from Thailand, two reporting the specific refugee camp in which they resided. All students reported speaking Karen at home and three participants reported speaking both Karen and English at school. One

participant reported speaking only English at school. When asked what language students preferred to speak, 2 of the students reported a preference for English and 2 reported a preference for Karen. Participants' responses varied to the open-ended question regarding cultural group identification. Two of the four participants reported identifying mostly with the Karen culture. One participant endorsed identification with both Karen and American culture and one participant left the question blank.

Instrumentation

Participants completed a survey packet online that included the Facebook Intensity Scale (Ellison et al., 2007), The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure—Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney & Ong, 2007), Social Provisions Scale (Cutrona & Russell, 1987), School Adjustment—Child Questionnaire (CPPRG, 1997), and a demographics questionnaire created by the researcher.

Demographics questionnaire. A demographic survey was developed to supplement and obtain additional demographic information about participants along with information about their friendships at school and on Facebook. Participants were asked their age, year in high school, age of arrival in the United States, length of time in the United States, gender, country of birth, language spoken at home, language spoken at school, preferred language, ethnic identification, and number of schools attended in the past year. Participants were asked to identify their total number of friendships at school and indicate how many of these friendships were with peers within the same ethnic group and with peers across different ethnic groups. Participants were then asked to identify how many friends within these two groups were considered close friends.

Facebook friendship composition. Four questions were asked regarding the size and composition of an individual's friendship network on Facebook. Participants were asked to identify the number of Facebook friends they would describe as same-ethnic friends and the number of Facebook friends they would identify as cross-ethnic friends. A similar method was used in a study conducted by Chan and Birman (2009) to assess the composition of Vietnamese immigrant high school students' friendship networks based on whether these networks were primarily composed of other Vietnamese students, referred to as same-race friendships, or students from other racial groups, referred to as cross-race friendships.

For the purpose of this study, two additional questions were asked to ascertain how many of respondents' cross-ethnic and same-ethnic friends on Facebook are considered close friends. Specifically, the questions, "Of these Facebook friends that have a different culture than you, how many would you consider close friends?" and "Of these Facebook friends that share the same culture as you, how many would you consider close friends?"

Facebook use. Initially utilized in a study examining the relationship between Facebook use and social capital, (Ellison et al., 2007) the Facebook Intensity Scale contains six, Likert scale items used to measure users' attitudes about the site along with two behavioral questions related to number of Friends on the site and daily minutes spent on the site. The Likert scale ranges from 1 representing "strongly disagree" and 5 representing "strongly agree." An example of a Likert scale item includes, "I feel out of touch when I haven't logged onto Facebook for a while." (Elllison et al., 2007).

The authors have suggested that the behavioral questions related to number of Friends and duration of time spent on the site may be asked in an open-ended or closed-ended format (Ellison et al., 2007). The close-ended option includes having the respondent answer based on selecting among a category of responses in order to obtain a mean score. The authors allow for the researcher to adjust the scaling options based on the study population. The total score on the measure is obtained by calculating the mean of all scale items. The reliability estimates for the scale was reported as .83 (Ellison et al., 2007).

Ethnic identity. Ethnic identity was measured using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney & Ong, 2007). The MEIM-R was developed by researchers to meet the need for an ethnic identity measure that could be used to assess ethnic identity across diverse ethnic groups (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The measure contains six items that assess two factors: exploration and commitment. Items are assessed on a Likert scale with (1) representing “strongly disagree” and (5) representing “strongly agree”, and with (3) as a neutral position. The score can be calculated as the mean of the items on the Exploration (α = .76) and Commitment (α = .78) subscales or as a mean score for both subscales combined (α = .81). Higher scores indicate stronger ethnic identity. Cluster analysis may be used with the two subscales to derive ethnic identity statuses.

The MEIM-R has sound psychometrics and went through several phases of testing before its final iteration. A 12-item version of the MEIM was pilot tested with a diverse sample of high school students from four ethnic minority backgrounds including: African

Americans, Mexican Americans, Vietnamese Americans, and Armenian Americans (Phinney & Baldelomar, 2006). This version contained two fewer items and slight changes in wording to make the items applicable to past or present actions. The current 6-item version of the MEIM-R was the outcome of additional testing on a 10-item version of the MEIM with a diverse sample of college students. This study resulted in further support for the 2-factor structure of the inventory and resulted in 3 items assessing exploration and 3 items assessing commitment (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

The MEIM-R has been used with a culturally diverse group of middle and high school students (Lin, 2008; Ojeda et al., 2012). Ojeda et al. (2012) used the scale with a sample of 338 Latino middle school students ages 12-15 and achieved a reliability estimate of .80. Lin (2008) used the MEIM-R with a sample of 186, 16-26-year old Asian international students studying in New Zealand and achieved a reliability estimate of .87.

Bonding social capital. Bonding social capital was measured using the Social Provisions Scale (Cutrona & Russell, 1987). The Social Provisions Scale is a 24-item measure that contains 4 questions for each of the 6 social provisions. Two items for each scale are worded negatively and two items are worded positively. Items are measured on a 4-point, Likert scale with 1 representing “strongly disagree” and 4 representing “strongly agree.” Reliability of the 24-item scale was obtained through testing with a sample of 1792 participants. Reliability estimates for the following scales were: .747 for attachment, .673 for social integration, .665 for reassurance of worth, .653 for reliable alliance, .760 for guidance, .655 for opportunity for nurturance. The alpha for the total scale score was .915. Scores on the Social Provisions Scale are obtained by adding the

scores for each subscale. Higher scores indicate the presence of that provision. Items that are negatively worded should be reversed before scoring.

The Social Provisions Scale was recently used by researchers interested in investigating the development of bonding social capital on online SNS (Vitak et al., 2011). The scale was selected by these researchers as a way to overcome the geographic boundedness implicit in other social capital measures (Vitak et al., 2011), such as Williams's (2006) Internet Social Capital Scale. The authors selected three of the provision subscales to use as a general measure of bonding social capital: attachment (α = .786), reliable alliance (α = .833), and guidance (α = .817). The reliability coefficients obtained in this study were much higher than the ones used to validate the scale (Cutrona & Russell, 1987). The authors selected these three sub-scales because of their association with close personal relationships (Vitak et al., 2011). The conceptual framework of the scale based on the work of Weiss highlights that different relationships are associated with different provisions. For example, familial ties are often more closely associated with the reliable alliance provision. By definition bonding social capital, is accrued through these close relationship ties (Putnam, 2000).

In the current study, the researcher chose to use the three provisions used in the Vitak et al. (2011) study along with the social integration provision subscale. Weiss highlighted the social integration provision as being more closely associated with friendships. Given the nature of this study, it would seem important to investigate scores on this provision scale as well. Additionally, bonding social capital has been linked to a

sense of belongingness that appears to be measured by items on this scale. An example of an item is, " I feel part of a group of people who share my attitudes and beliefs."

School adjustment. The School Adjustment—Child Questionnaire (CPRRG, 1997) was developed by researchers to assess participants' beliefs about their current adjustment to school. The scale contains 20 items that are assessed on a five-point, Likert scale. Participants are asked to respond to statements based on how true they are for them with (1) representing "Never True" and (5) representing "Always True." The scale also contains one "yes" or "no" question regarding if the participant has changed schools in the past year. Items containing negatively worded responses should be reversed before scoring. Higher scores are indicative of better school adjustment, whereas, lower scores indicate poorer school adjustment.

The psychometrics of the scale have been published for participants who took the scale while in high school (Fast Track Project, 2012). Three subscales have been identified on the School Adjustment—Child Questionnaire: Relationships with Other Students (α =.74), Academic and Disciplinary Difficulties (α = .76), and General Aspects about the School and Teachers (α = .75; Corrigan, 2003). The Relationships with Other Students subscale has been found to have a ceiling effect with a normative sample of students (Corrigan, 2003) and thus caution may need to be employed when interpreting the results on this subscale. The School Adjustment—Child Questionnaire has not been previously used with refugee students.

Procedure

Phase 1. In the first phase of the pilot study the researcher consulted with a Karen cultural broker in regards to the survey questions utilized. The Karen cultural broker was an undergraduate college student at the same university as the researcher. Specifically, the researcher wanted information on the readability of the questions for refugee students who had been in the United States from 1-6 years. Additionally, the researcher wanted to ensure that the questions on the survey were culturally appropriate and that the intended meaning of the questions would match how Karen newcomer refugee students may interpret the questions.

The researcher met with the cultural broker to review the survey questions. The cultural broker's feedback regarding the survey items was that all questions were clear and would be easily understood by Karen newcomer refugee high school students. The survey questions that were shown to the cultural broker are included in Appendix A. One suggestion was made regarding the demographics question, "What cultural group do you most identify with?" The cultural broker suggested including examples and the phrase "i.e., Karen, American, etc." was added to this question. The researcher decided to change the order of the survey questions after this meeting and moved the MEIM-R survey questions from the end of the survey closer to the demographics questions since this question was a prompt about ethnicity.

After meeting with the cultural broker the researcher requested and received approval by the Institutional Review Board to modify the question on the demographic form. Once approval for the modification was obtained, the researcher created an online

survey using Qualtrics. The survey was previewed by the researcher and one of the researcher's dissertation co-chairs to ensure that the flow of the survey was correct, the parental consent form and assent forms were uploaded properly, and that the skip logic used within the survey was directing individuals to the appropriate consent form (i.e., participants under eighteen were shown the parental consent form after viewing the assent form).

Phase 2. The cultural broker and the researcher decided that in order to control access to the survey the cultural broker would email participants rather than posting the link on her Facebook profile. The cultural broker emailed five participants the link to the pilot study survey and instructed participants to complete the survey within a week of receiving the email, a time period mutually agreed upon by the researcher and the cultural broker as a reasonable amount of time to complete. The participants selected were Karen newcomer refugee high school students that the cultural broker knew from Facebook.

Data Analysis and Results

An overview of the analyses and results are presented here. Descriptive statistics and alpha coefficients for the four instruments are presented. In Table 3, the means, standard deviations, and reliability coefficients are presented for the following scales: The Facebook Intensity Scale, MEIM-R, Social Provisions Scale, and the School Adjustment-Child Questionnaire.

Table 3

Total Sample Score Ranges, Means, Standard Deviations, & Reliability Coefficients (*N* = 4)

Instrument	Possible Range	Sample Range	Sample *M*	Sample *SD*	Sample α
1. Facebook Intensity Scale	6-30	19-24	21.75	2.22	.61
2. MEIM-R	6-30	18-25	21.75	2.99	.88
3. Social Provisions Scale	16-64	46-57	50.67	5.69	.92
4. School Adjustment-Child	20-100	61-83	71.50	10.20	.89

Note. The descriptive statistics for the Social Provisions Scale are based on n=3.

Research Question 1. Descriptive information on the numbers of friends reported in each category is presented in Table 4. Participant 1 reported the answers in percentages or words and these responses are reported in Table 4 as they appeared in the survey. All of the participants reported being a member of Facebook. The amount of time participants reported spending on Facebook daily ranged from 30 minutes to 5 hours. Two of the participants answered with the number 3, but did not specify whether this was in minutes or hours.

Research Question 2. Participants completed the survey within four days of receiving the survey link. The time it took participants to finish the survey once they started ranged from 15 minutes to 84 minutes. On average, the participants took 39 minutes to complete the survey (*SD* = 30.9).

Table 4

Facebook Demographics

Participant	Friends on Facebook	Same-culture Friends		Close Same-Culture Friends		Cross-culture Friends		Close Cross-Culture Friends	
		#	% Total	#	% Total	#	% Total	#	% Total
1	A lot	-	90	-	20	-	10	0	0
2	392	250	63.78	30	7.65	3	0.07	0	0
3	70	67	95.71	10	14.29	3	4.29	0	0
4	2099	2000	95.28	19	0.09	99	4.72	5	0

Research Question 3. Two of the participants (50%) answered all of the survey items. One participant did not answer the question, “What cultural group do you most identify with (i.e. Karen, American, etc.)?” One participant skipped the item, “ There is no one who likes to do the things I do” on the Social Provisions Scale. There were no consistently skipped or unanswered items in the survey.

Research Question 4. The researcher received an email from a participant about a problem encountered on the survey. The participant was unable to advance in the survey past the question, “How old are you?” The respondent had been entering their age in words rather than in numerical format. Content validation had been instituted for all questions that could be answered with a numerical response. The researcher emailed the participant instructing them to enter the value in numerical format and then removed all of the content validation requirements from the Qualtrics survey. After making these corrections, the participant was able to complete the survey and the researcher did not receive any additional questions from participants.

The dissertation co-chair received an email from a participant who wanted to know more information about the survey because they had viewed the link on the Facebook profile of another participant. Specifically, the student was interested in learning more about what would be done with the information after the student completed the survey. The researcher responded to the student request for information by email, thanking the student for interest in the study, providing information about the purpose of the study, and making the student aware that this practice survey would be used to design a larger study that would be available on Facebook in several weeks.

Discussion and Implications for Larger Study

Data obtained from the pilot study informed several modifications to the main dissertation study. The purpose of the pilot study was to obtain information about the feasibility of using an online Qualtrics survey with Karen newcomer refugee students. Data obtained from the pilot provided insight into the problems encountered with the online survey and informed several modifications to the main dissertation study. The discussion of the pilot and modifications for the final study are provided.

First, the timeline of one week appeared to be enough time for participants to take the survey. All participants completed the survey within the 1-week time period. Additionally, participants completed the survey during evening hours, providing support that participants have access to the Internet outside of school hours.

Prior to the pilot study, the recruitment notice indicated that the survey would take less than 45-minutes to complete. The average amount of time for participants to complete the survey was 39 minutes, with some participants taking as few as 15 minutes

and some taking as long as 1 hour and 24 minutes. Therefore, the recruitment post was modified to indicate the average amount of time it took participants (see Appendix E).

Given that one participant had difficulty on a question that used the content validation feature in Qualtrics, all content validation options were removed from the final study. Instead, the researcher provided examples of the numerical format for specific questions requiring numerical responses.

Given that the ethnic identification demographic question was skipped, the researcher provided additional examples of ethnic labels to provide options for students to select amongst. Fuligni et al. (2005) provided participants with a list of ethnic identities and participants were instructed that they could select more than one option. In the final study, the research asked an additional question related to ethnic identification, similar to the method used by Fuligni et al. (2005). First, the participant was instructed to select from a list of several ethnic identities and then select any that fit. Next, the participant was asked to select amongst these choices the one that was most salient.

Given that the link to the pilot study was posted on one of the participants' Facebook profiles, the researcher and dissertation co-chair decided to keep the pilot survey active and included a statement at the beginning of the survey thanking individuals for their interest and asking them to check back in several weeks for the link to the new survey. This was done so that potential participants would be provided with the most current information about the survey and would not be taken to an inactive, generic Qualtrics page that provided no information regarding the survey contents. It is also recognized that a method of forwarding for Karen students may be for them to post

the survey link on their Facebook page. Although this is one of the procedures that will be used for the main study, it was interesting that this occurred in the pilot study when participants were sent a link via email and were not provided with encouragement to forward the link.

Limitations of Pilot Study

Interpretation of results from the pilot study should be done with the consideration of the small sample size and limited generalizability of this sample. The intended purpose of the pilot study was to test the feasibility of using online survey software with Karen refugee newcomer adolescents. Participants in this study were specifically selected by the cultural broker to participate based on the belief that they would respond quickly. Thus, the response time may not generalize to other participants. Additionally, given that participants knew the cultural broker personally they may have felt more comfortable asking her questions related to the study and this may not occur for participants who were provided with the study link by a peer.

Summary

The results from the amount of Facebook use indicated that Karen High School students were using Facebook to engage in friendships with other Karen students. These results should be interpreted with caution given the small sample size and limited generalizability of the sample. Given that all of the pilot study participants were male seniors in high school, it is still unknown how female Karen students or Karen students in lower high school grades may use Facebook. Additionally, there was an oversight on the part of the researcher and one of the questions from the Social Support Provisions Scale

was left out of the Qualtrics survey. The modifications from the pilot study were incorporated into the final study along with all of the sampling procedures, increasing the gender and grade level diversity of the sample. Other than these changes, the procedures described in the pilot study were followed in the larger study.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

In Chapters I, II, and III, an introduction and purpose of the study, an overview of the literature, and methodology for this study designed to explore the relationship between Facebook use, ethnic identity, bonding social capital, and school adjustment for newcomer refugee Karen high school students were presented. In this chapter, the results of the study are presented along with descriptive statistics, Pearson correlation analyses, paired sample t-tests, and regressions using SPSS Statistics Version 20.0 (IBM Corp., 2011). First, a detailed description of the participants in the study including demographic information is presented. Next, descriptive statistics for participants' age, grade level, gender, length of stay in the United States, preferred language spoken at home and school, and residence before moving to the United States are described. Then, general descriptive statistics for study measures showing means, standard deviations, and reliability coefficients are presented. Penultimately, correlations among the Facebook Intensity Scale (Ellison et al., 2007) to assess emotional engagement with Facebook and Amount of Facebook Use, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure—Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney & Ong, 2007) to assess ethnic identity, the Social Provisions Scale (Cutrona & Russell, 1987) to assess bonding social capital, and the School Adjustment -Child Questionnaire (CPPRG, 1997) to assess school adjustment are included. Finally, results of the analyses used to test the research hypotheses in this study are presented.

Description of Participants

Participants in the study were Karen newcomer refugee students living in the United States. In total, 108 participants visited the link to the online Qualtrics (Qualtrics, Provo, UT) survey. Of these 108, 44 individuals either stopped before survey completion (N =10) or did not respond to any of the informed consent or survey questions (N = 34). Fifteen individuals chose to "Leave the Study" after the assent and/or parental consent form was presented resulting in a total of 43 participants with submitted responses to all the assessments. Of these 43, there were 3 students whom did not meet the study qualifications due to length of time in the United States being greater than 6 years. The final sample included 40 participants. Of these 40, one participant had several missing values on the scales and was removed from analyses designed to address Research Questions 3 and 4. Additionally, one participant was not a member of Facebook and was not included in analyses involving Facebook use. This resulted in 38 completed survey responses. It is important to note that only 29 participants provided a numerical response to the question regarding amount of Facebook use.

As shown in Table 5, the ages of the 19 male and 20 female participants (one did not report gender) ranged from 14 – 21 years (M = 16.95, SD = 1.60). Of these participants, 33% of the participants were under 18 years of age (N = 13) and 67% of participants were over 18 (N = 27). There were 7 freshman, 10 sophomores, 12 juniors, and 11 seniors. Also, 93% of participants (N = 37) reported speaking Karen as their primary language at home; whereas, none of the participants reported speaking only Karen at school. One third of the participants (N = 13) reported speaking only English at

school and 67% (*N* = 27) reported speaking both English and Karen at school. When asked what language they preferred to speak, 33% (*N* = 13) reported English and 60% (*N* = 24) reported preferring to speak Karen. Three of the participants included a language other than Karen or English.

Table 5

Demographic Descriptors of Participants for Main Study (*N* = 40)

Demographic Variables	*n*	%
Gender		
Female	20	47.5
Male	19	50.0
Age		
14	1	2.5
15	7	17.5
16	10	25.0
17	7	17.5
18	8	20.0
19	5	12.5
20	1	2.5
21	1	2.5
Grade		
9	7	17.5
10	10	25.0
11	12	30.0
12	11	27.5
Preferred language		
English	13	32.5
Karen	24	60.0

Table 5 (cont.)

Demographic Variables	*n*	%
Preferred ethnicity		
Karen	22	55.0
Asian	4	10.0
Karen-American	3	7.5
Asian-American	3	7.5
American	2	5.0
Karenni	1	2.5
Thai	1	2.5
Karen-Asian	1	2.5
Korean	1	2.5
Other	2	5.0
Length of time in the United States		
1	1	2.5
2	6	15.0
3	2	5.0
4	8	20.0
5	19	47.5
6	4	10.0
Schools attended in the past year		
1	20	50.0
2	9	22.5
3	3	7.5
4	1	2.5

The participants had been living in the United States for 1-6 years (M = 4.24, SD = 1.28). Of the participants, 22.5% (N = 9) had been living in the United States for less than 3 years and 77.5% (N = 31) had been living in the United States from 3-6 years. The average age that students reported resettling in the United States was 13 (SD = 2.14). Of the participants, 47.5% (N = 19) had moved before the age of thirteen and 53.5% (N =

21) had moved between the ages of 13 and 17. All participants resettled in the United States from Thailand, four reported the specific refugee camp in which they resided.

Participants' responses varied to the open-ended question regarding ethnic group identification. Participants were presented with a list of seven ethnic labels that was adapted from one used in a previous study (Fuligni et al., 2005). The list included labels that solely referred to ethnic origin (e.g., Karen, Burmese), hyphenated American labels (e.g., Karen-American, Thai-American), panethnic labels (e.g., Asian), an American label, and the option to add any other label that was not on the list. Participants were asked to select all the labels that applied to them and were instructed that they could select more than one response to this item. Finally, participants were asked to select the single ethnic label that they identified with the most. Only 5% (N = 2) of the participants added labels that were not already on the list and these ethnic labels included Poe and Burmese-Korean. The ethnic identification label that participants selected most often was Karen (N = 29), followed by Asian (N = 21), and Karen-American (N = 16). When asked to select the ethnic label that they most identified with, 57.5% (N = 22) reported Karen, 10% reported Asian (N = 4), 7.5% (N = 3) reported Karen-American, 7.5% (N = 3) reported Asian American, and 5% (N = 2) reported American.

Of the participants, 70% (N = 28) reported having changed schools in the past year. Twelve of the 40 participants reported that they not changed schools in the past year; however when asked in the following question how many schools participants had attended in the past year, 50% reported attending 1 school (N = 20), 22.5% reported attending 2 schools (N = 9), 7.5% reported attending 3 schools (N = 3), and 2.5% (N = 1)

reported attending 4 schools in the past year. Seven of the participants did not report how many schools they had attended in the past year.

Data Screening

Prior to main analyses, all variables of interest were examined through SPSS 20.0 (IBM Corp., 2011) for accuracy of data entry, missing values, the normality of distributions, and univariate outliers. To account for missing data, mean scale scores on the measures were used in data analyses. There is no firm distinction that exists in determining acceptable values for skewness and kurtosis, but a general rule is that values closer to zero are better, and less than an absolute value of 2 is desirable (Heppner & Heppner, 2004). The skewness and kurtosis of almost all the measured variables were less than 2, indicating the scores from this sample could be normally distributed. Kurtosis scores on the MEIM-R were slightly above 2.0 (kurtosis = 2.3) and negatively skewed (skewness = -1.2) indicating that there was a peak near the mean scores that were clustered on the higher end of the distribution. This indicates that scores on the MEIM-R may not have been normally distributed. A test was conducted for univariate outliers by converting the scores on each of the scales into *Z* scores. The *Z* scores for the MEIM-R (*Z* = 3.37) and the Social Provisions Scale (*Z* = -3.31) were outside the recommended range. Upon further inspection of the data set, it appeared that only one case represented an outlier for each of the scales. Given the small sample size, the decision was made to leave these cases in the dataset.

Descriptive Results of Measures

Table 7 shows possible and actual ranges of scores, means, standard deviations, and alpha coefficients of the scales administered in the present study as measures of Facebook use, bonding social capital, ethnic identity, and school adjustment. Reliability analyses for the study measures were performed using Cronbach's alpha coefficient as the index for internal consistency as recommended by Cohen and Swerdlik (1999). The alpha coefficients were as follows: .86 for the Facebook Intensity Scale, .93 for the MEIM-R, .83 for the Social Provisions Scale, .78 for the School Adjustment—Child Inventory. As Table 6 shows, these estimates of reliability suggest that the scales have acceptable levels of internal consistency in this sample of newcomer refugee Karen high school students.

Table 6

Total Sample Score Ranges, Means, Standard Deviations, & Reliability Coefficients (N = 39)

Instrument	Sample Mean Scale M	Sample Mean Scale SD	Sample Mean Scale α	Published α
1. Facebook Intensity Scale	2.91	.83	.86	.83
2. MEIM-R	3.67	.79	.93	.81
3. Social Provisions Scale	2.84	.31	.83	.92
4. School Adjustment-Child	3.64	.47	.78	Unpublished

Note. For all scales, higher scores are indicative of more extreme responding in the direction of the construct assessed.

Preliminary Analyses

Pearson-product moment correlations among all the scales and measures were calculated. Table 7 shows the results of the correlation matrices for all variables. Findings from this correlation matrix indicated significant positive relationships among Social Provisions Scale scores and School Adjustment-Child scores (r = .44), p <. 01. Amount of Facebook Use was significantly negatively associated with Social Provisions Scale scores (r = -.52), p < .01, and School Adjustment-Child scores (r = -.34), p < .07. Amount of Facebook Use was positively associated with number of Facebook friends (r = .37), p < .05. There were no significant relationships between Facebook Intensity Scale scores and scores on the MEIM-R, Social Provisions Scale, and School Adjustment-Child. Additionally, scores on the MEIM-R were not significantly associated with any other construct in the study. There were no "extreme" correlations between predictor variables, suggesting that multicollinearity may not be an issue (Mansfield & Helms, 1982).

Table 7

Summary of Pearson Product Moment Correlations of Variables (N = 29)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Facebook Intensity Scale						
2. Amount of Facebook Use	.26					
3. Number of Facebook Friends	.12	.37**				
4. MEIM-R	.10	-.18	-.13			
5. Social Provisions Scale	.03	-.52***	-.16	.16		
6. School Adjustment-Child	.17	-.34*	-.11	.05	.44***	

Note. N is based on the 29 participants who provided numerical responses to the Facebook use question.
*p < . 07; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Table 8 shows participants' mean scores on measures based on gender. To determine whether gender influenced the results, a series of independent *t*-tests were computed for each variable between males and females. The findings revealed that no statistically significant differences were found among the variables except for amount of Facebook friends. As noted in Table 8, female students reported significantly greater numbers of Facebook friends (M = 1150.20, SD = 1462.93) than male students (M = 625, SD = 697.69), (t (36) =1.39, $p < .05$). Given that gender did not seem to differently influence scores on the measures used to assess the constructs, data for all analyses were combined for males and females.

Table 8

Summary of Means and Standard Deviations by Gender (N = 38)

Instrument	Sample Mean Scale *M*	Sample Mean Scale *SD*
Facebook Intensity Scale	2.97	.98
Males	2.85	.69
Females		
Amount of Facebook Use		
Males	2.22	2.35
Females	1.89	1.56
Number of Facebook Friends		
Males	625.00	697.69
Females	1150.20	1462.93
MEIM-R		
Males	3.79	.74
Females	3.56	.83

Table 8 (cont.)

Instrument	Sample Mean Scale *M*	Sample Mean Scale *SD*
Social Provisions Scale	2.71	.33
Males	2.94	.24
Females		
School Adjustment-Child	3.46	.45
Males	3.79	.44
Females		

Note. There were 20 females and 18 males in this analysis. The participant who did not report gender was removed. Amount of Facebook use and number of Facebook friends was assessed with one question.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The primary research question was: What is the relationship between Facebook use and school adjustment and how do ethnic identity and bonding social capital impact that relationship. The first set of analyses quantitatively describes the composition of Karen newcomer refugee high school students' friendship networks based on number of same-ethnic and cross-ethnic friendships on Facebook and at school. Given that bonding social capital is a variable of interest in this study, participants were asked to identify how many friends in each of these categories were considered close friends. Next, using paired sample t-tests mean differences between same-ethnic and cross-ethnic friendship networks were examined and specific attention was given to the differences in Social Provisions Scale scores for networks that consisted of same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friendships. An ANOVA was used to examine how the composition of particular types of Facebook friends (i.e. same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic) related to the variables of ethnic

identity, bonding social capital, and school adjustment. Finally, regressions were used to determine if ethnic identity and bonding social capital mediated the relationship between Facebook use and school adjustment.

Research Question 1

What is the size (numerical counts of friends) of Karen refugee adolescents' friendships at school and on Facebook?

Hypothesis 1. Research Question 1 examined the size of Karen newcomer refugee students Facebook and school networks. It was hypothesized that participants would report approximately 5 school friends and approximately 220 Facebook Friends. To determine the number of Friends on newcomer refugee students' Facebook sites a mean was obtained from descriptive data provided (M = 909.32, SD = 1168.71). To determine the number of Friends newcomer refugee students have at school a mean was obtained from descriptive data provided (M = 128.13, SD = 201.96). Descriptive information on the numbers of friends reported in each category is presented in Table 9. Karen newcomer refugee students reported on Facebook an average of 324.05 (SD = 805.79) same-ethnic friends, 62.55 (SD = 192.20) close/same-ethnic friends, 134.82 (SD = 168.37) cross-ethnic friends, and 48.61 (SD = 68.03) close/cross-ethnic friends. Karen newcomer refugee students reported at school an average of 18.49 (SD = 14.83) same-ethnic friends, 11.95 (SD = 18.90) close/same-ethnic friends, 66.87 (SD = 157.08) cross-ethnic friends, and 36.05 (SD = 125.11) close/cross-ethnic friends. The amount of time participants reported spending on Facebook daily ranged from 0 minutes to 8 hours (M = 2.24, SD = 2.02). Only 29 of the 40 participants responded to this question with a

numerical value. There were several participants who responded with statements such as "a lot," "more than 10 times per day, and "I just leave my FB online in my iPod but if I'm bored I just went on for 30 min and do other things in my home."

Table 9

Composition of Friendship Networks at School and on Facebook (N=39)

	Sample *Range*	Sample *Median*	Sample *M*	Sample *SD*
Facebook Friends	11-5000	453	909.32	1168.71
Same-ethnic Friends	4-5000	129	324.05	805.79
Close Same-ethnic Friends	0-1202	20	62.55	192.20
Cross-ethnic Friends	0-700	62.5	134.82	168.37
Close Cross-ethnic Friends	0-250	10	48.61	68.03
School Friends	4-736	50	128.13	201.96
Same-ethnic	0-70	20	18.49	14.83
Close same-ethnic	0-100	5	11.95	18.90
Cross-ethnic	0-701	20	66.87	157.08
Close cross-ethnic	0-697	1	36.05	125.11

Note. For the Facebook analyses $N = 38$ was used because one of the participants reported not being a member of Facebook.

Research Question 2

What is the composition of Karen refugee adolescents' friendships (ratio of same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friends; ratio of close/same-ethnic friends versus close/cross-ethnic friends)?

Hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 2 stated that significant mean differences would exist in the number of same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friendships. Specifically, newcomer

students would report higher means for same-ethnic friendships. Hypothesis two also stated that significant differences would exist in the number of close/same-ethnic friends versus close/cross-ethnic friends. Specifically, newcomer students would report higher means for close/same-ethnic friendships. These hypotheses were tested on Karen newcomer refugee students' school and Facebook networks. A paired sample *t*-test was used to determine whether there was a significant difference in the mean number of reported same-ethnic Facebook Friends and the mean number of reported cross-ethnic Facebook Friends. There was not a significant difference in the means reported for same-ethnic (M = 324.05, SD = 805.79) and cross-ethnic Facebook friends (M = 134.82, SD = 168.37), t (37) = 1.404, although results indicated a non-significant trend in the hypothesized direction with a Cohen's D of 0.23 computed for these sample means. A post hoc power analysis was computed in G-Power and due to the low sample size this test only had a power of .40, indicating the possibility of a Type II error. A sample of 124 would have been needed to find a significant difference with effect size of 0.23 with power of .80 if a significant difference existed. While no significant differences existed among same to cross-ethnic friends on Facebook, participants reported significantly larger numbers of cross-ethnic friendships at school (M = 66.87, SD = 157.08) than same-ethnic friendships (M = 18.49, SD = 14.83), t (38) = 1.92, $p < .06$, d = .31.

Paired sample *t*-tests were then conducted to determine if participants reported significant mean differences between close/cross-ethnic and close/same-ethnic friendships at school and on Facebook. There were no significant differences in means between close same-ethnic Facebook friendships (M = 62.55, SD = 192.20) and close

cross-ethnic Facebook friendships (M = 48.61, SD = 68.03), t(37) = .49 and close same-ethnic friendships at school (M = 11.95, SD = 18.90) and close cross-ethnic friendships at school (M = 36.05, SD = 125.11), t(38) = -1.24. Participants also were asked to report how many Facebook friends were friends at school. Participants reported an average of 71 friends that overlapped between Facebook and school (SD = 103.33).

To further test hypothesis two, a ratio of cross-ethnic friends to same-ethnic friends on Facebook was obtained. The ratio was obtained by dividing the number of reported friends in a specific friendship category (i.e. number of same-ethnic friendships, number of cross-ethnic friendship) over the total number of reported friends to obtain a decimal value. The ratio value helps account for the differences between same-ethnic and cross-ethnic friendships for individuals with larger numbers of total friends. A paired sample t-test was performed and there was a significant difference in the mean ratio of Karen newcomer refugee students reported same-ethnic Facebook friendship network (M = .44, SD = .40) and the ratio of cross-ethnic Facebook friendship networks (M = .32, SD = .42), t(37) =1.96, p < .06, d = .29. There was no significant difference in the mean ratios of close/same-ethnic friendships at school (M = .19, SD = .21) and close/cross-ethnic friendships at school (M = .15, SD = .20), t(38) = .95 and between close/same-ethnic friendships on Facebook (M = .17, SD = .29) and close/cross-ethnic friendships on Facebook (M = .12, SD = .21), t(37) = .92.

Once the ratio was calculated the individual's network was categorized as (a) same-ethnic friendship network, (b) cross-ethnic friendship network, or (c) blended network. The blended network label was created due to the large number of participants

who reported networks with a relatively close ratio of same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friendships. An individual was coded as same-ethnic friendship network if the ratio of their reported same-ethnic friendships to total number of friendships on Facebook was greater than .60. Likewise, a participant was coded as cross-ethnic friendship network if the ratio of cross-ethnic friendships to total friendships was larger than .60. If the proportion of friendships in either of these categories did not reach .60 they were coded a "blended" network. The same procedure was done for their reported friendships at school. Some of the participants reported more numbers for their categories of friendships than they reported in their total number of friendships. As a result, the ratios did not always equal 1.0. If a participant had higher than a .60 in both categories and it was less than a .30 difference they were coded as blended network. Table 10 shows the number of participants that were included in each type of Facebook network category.

Table 10

Facebook Demographics (N = 38)

Type of Network	*n*
Total Friends	
Same-ethnic network	9
Cross-ethnic network	3
Blended network	26
Close Friends	
Same-ethnic network	3
Cross-ethnic network	2
Blended network	33

Research Question 3

What are the mean differences in bonding social capital for individuals who were categorized in the same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friendships on Facebook?

Hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 3 stated that significant differences would exist on bonding social capital for individuals with greater numbers of same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friendships on Facebook. Specifically, mean scores on the Social Provisions Scale would be higher for individuals with larger numbers of same-ethnic friendships. Given the amount of respondents whose friendship networks were blended between same-ethnic and cross-ethnic Facebook friendships this category also was examined. Although the sample sizes for each group were not equivalent (same-ethnic = 9; cross-ethnic = 3; blended = 26), a one-way analysis of variance was conducted with same-ethnic, cross-ethnic, or blended network as the independent variable and Social Provisions Scale scores as the dependent variable. There was not a significant effect of type of network on Social Provisions Scale scores for both total reported friends, F (2,35) = 1.42, $p < .26$, $\eta^2 = .08$, and close friends, F (2,35) = 1.807, $p < .18$, $\eta^2 = .10$. As noted in Table 11, the means and standard deviations on the Social Provisions Scale for the three Facebook friendship network groups were similar. A post-hoc analyses was run in G Power and with the effect size of .08 and .10 for the above analyses and a sample size of 39 with an alpha of .05 there was only the power of 0.07 and 0.08 to find significant mean differences, thus possibly resulting in a Type II error of not finding a significant result if one should exist.

Table 11

Social Provisions Scale Scores Based on Facebook Network Composition (N = 38)

Network	N	Sample M	Sample SD
Same-ethnic total Friends	9	2.99	.15
Cross-ethnic total Friends	3	2.81	.32
Blended total Friends	26	2.78	.36
Close same-ethnic Friends	3	2.89	.18
Close cross-ethnic Friends	2	2.44	.00
Close blended Friends	33	2.85	.32

Research Question 4

What are the relationships between bonding social capital, Facebook use, ethnic identity, and school adjustment?

Hypothesis 4. This was originally going to be tested with a path model but due to a smaller sample size it was analyzed using a mediating model. The hypothesis used to test this question proposed that the model would account for a statistically significant portion of the variance in School Adjustment-Child scores. Amount of Facebook Use and Facebook Intensity Scale scores were both tested separately as the predictor variables and scores on the Social Provisions Scale and MEIM-R were tested as potential mediators. To test this multiple mediator hypothesis, regressions were conducted according to causal steps outline by Baron and Kenny (1986). This method requires several conditions must be met for mediation. First, there must be evidence of a significant relationship between the independent variable and the mediator. In the present study, this means a significant

relationship between scores on the Facebook Intensity Scale and scores on the MEIM-R and Social Provisions Scale. Second, the independent variable (Facebook Intensity Scale scores) must be shown to impact the dependent variable (School Adjustment-Child scores). The final step in the process involves entering the independent (Facebook Intensity Scale scores) and mediator (MEIM-R and Social Provision Scale scores) variables in the regression to determine if they simultaneously predict the dependent variable (School Adjustment-Child scores). If the direct effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable controlling for the mediators is no longer significant, it can be claimed that the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable is fully mediated by the mediator variable.

Using the causal steps method (Baron & Kenny, 1986), two measures of Facebook use were examined. The first was Facebook Intensity and the second was Amount of Facebook Use. Facebook Intensity scores were not found to be a significant predictor of MEIM-R scores, *ß* = .10, *t* (1,37) = .62, p < .54 or Social Provisions Scale scores, *ß* =.03, *t* (1, 37) = .20, *p* < .84, therefore Facebook Intensity scored did not meet the first criteria of the mediating model and were not further explored. Exploring the second measure of Facebook use, Amount of Facebook Use significantly predicted Social Provisions Scale scores, *ß* = -.52, *t* (1,27) = -3.16, *p* < .01. Amount of Facebook Use explained a significant portion of the variance in bonding social capital scores on the Social Provisions Scale, R^2 =. 24, *F* (1,27) = 9.96, *p* < .01. Amount of Facebook Use was not related to MEIM-R scores, *ß* = -.18, *t* (1,27) = -.96, *p* < .35. Thus, the first condition for testing mediation was met between Amount of Facebook Use and Social Provisions Scale

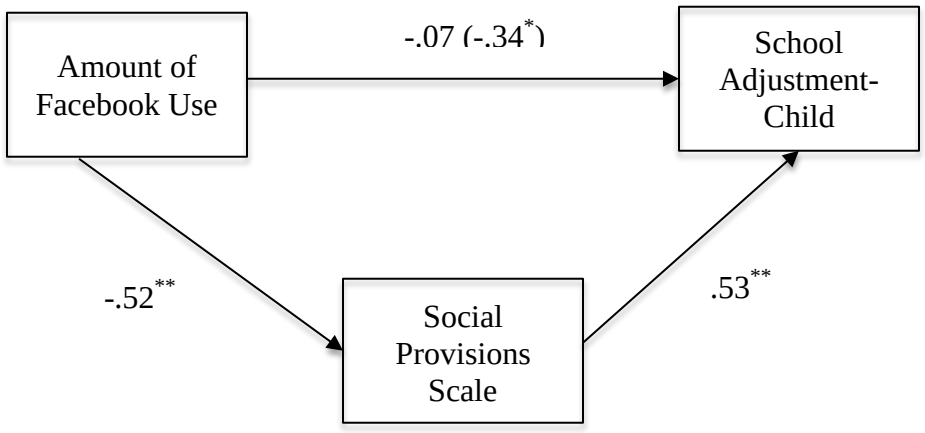
scores; there was no significant path for MEIM-R scores and this variable was dropped from testing in the final model.

Next, Amount of Facebook Use significantly predicted School Adjustment-Child scores, ß = -.34, *t* (2, 26) = -1.91, *p* < .07. Thus, the second condition for testing mediation was satisfied. Finally, Amount of Facebook Use and Social Provision Scale scores were entered simultaneously in the regression equation and accounted for a statistically significant portion of the variance in School Adjustment-Child scores, R^2 =. 27, *F* (2,26) = 6.28, *p* < .01. As shown in Figure 2, when they were entered in the model simultaneously, the relationship between Amount of Facebook Use and School Adjustment-Child was not significant, ß = -.07, *t* (2, 26) = -.36, *p* < .72. The relationship between Social Provisions Scale scores and School Adjustment-Child scores was increased when entered in the full model ß = .53, *t* (2, 26) = 2.83, *p* < .01 compared to when it was tested in a simple regression, ß = .44, *t* (1,37) = 2.98, *p* < .01.

According to Baron and Kenny (1986) perfect mediation occurs if the independent variable has no effect when the mediator is controlled. The causal steps analysis demonstrated evidence of full mediation of the relationship between Amount of Facebook Use and School Adjustment-Child scores (see Table 13). The direct relationship between Amount of Facebook Use and School Adjustment-Child scores was non-significant when the Social Provisions Scale was added to the model.

An alternative approach to the causal steps method is the bootstrapping method (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). This method does not assume a multivariate normal distribution of the sample and is recommended for use with smaller samples. The

bootstrapping method is used to test the statistical significance of the indirect path (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Using this method, mediation is occurring if the confidence interval for the indirect effect point estimate does not contain zero. Therefore, in addition to the causal steps method, bootstrapping point estimates of the indirect effects and 95% confidence intervals for those estimates were calculated. Bootstrapping procedures confirmed the statistical significance of the meditating pathway. The resulting indirect effect of Amount of Facebook Use on School Adjustment-Child through Social Support Provision is negative (-.18 to -.10 *CI*, with a point estimate of -.07) and suggests that Social Support Provision scores were a mediator of Amount of Facebook Use to School Adjustment—Child.



* Significant at $p < .07$. ** Significant at $p < .01$

Figure 2. Full mediation model. Tested on the basis of (Baron & Kenny, 1986). ( ) = direct effect of amount of Facebook Use and School Adjustment—Child prior to addition of mediator. Adj. R^2 for entire model = .27

Table 12

Mediating Model Regression Table of Bonding Social Capital and School Adjustment (*N* = 28)

Variable	*B*	*SE*	Stand. ß	Adj. R^2	*t*	*r*	Power
Step 1							
Facebook Use (IV)							
Social Provision Scale (DV)	-.09	.03	-.52	.24	-3.16**	.32	.89
Step 2							
Facebook Use (IV)							
School Adjustment (DV)	-.09	.05	-.34	.12	-1.91*	.14	.61
Step 3 – Full Model							
School Adjustment (DV)							
Facebook Use (IV)	-.02	.05	-.07		-.36		
Social Provision Scale (IV)	.82	.29	.53	.27	2.83**	.37	.93

Note. For the analyses an N of 28 was used based on how many participants reported their Amount of FB Use. In the full model, F (2,26) = 6.28, p < .01.
* p < .07; ** p < .01

Summary

The results of this study were presented by providing a description of the sample and descriptive statistics as well as reliability coefficients for each instrument. Data analyses for study hypotheses were presented. Results from the analyses indicated that newcomer Karen refugee students had friendship networks on Facebook that consisted of both same-ethnic and cross-ethnic friendships. There was a significant correlation between Social Provisions Scale scores and School Adjustment-Child scores; however, the relationship between these factors was not impacted by whether or not refugee

students had Facebook networks comprised of mostly same-ethnic friends, mostly cross-ethnic friends, or a blended network of both same-ethnic and cross-ethnic friendships.

In terms of predictor variables, there were no significant relationships between scores on the Facebook Intensity Scale and Social Provisions Scale, MEIM-R, and School-Adjustment Child Questionnaire. Amount of Facebook Use was negatively associated with Social Provisions Scale scores and School Adjustment-Child scores. There was no significant relationship between measures of Facebook use and MEIM-R scores. Because of the lack of significance between the MEIM-R and Facebook Intensity and School Adjustment-Child scores, only Social Provisions Scale scores were tested as a mediating variable between Amount of Facebook Use and School Adjustment-Child in the final model. The final model demonstrated that Amount of Facebook Use was a significant predictor of School Adjustment-Child scores and that Social Provisions Scale scores mediate this relationship. Participants with higher Amount of Facebook Use had lower scores on the Social Provisions Scale and thus had lower scores on the School Adjustment-Child Questionnaire. In Chapter V, the results are discussed, potential limitations are outlined, and implications for school counselors and future research are presented.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

In Chapter IV, the results of the study exploring the relationship between Facebook use and school adjustment with consideration to the mediating roles of ethnic identity and bonding social capital were presented. In this chapter, the results are discussed and the limitations of the study are outlined. In addition, implications for school counseling practice and areas for future research are discussed.

Summary of the Results

Overall, the researcher found that newcomer refugee Karen students are utilizing Facebook to develop friendships with individuals that share the same ethnicity and with peers from different ethnicities. There was a significant relationship between bonding social capital and school adjustment, with scores on the Social Provisions Scale predicting scores on the School Adjustment—Child Questionnaire. There was not a significant difference, however, in means scores on the Social Provisions Scale for students with same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic networks. The hypothesized model was not significant when scores on the Facebook Intensity Scale were used as a measure of Facebook use; however, when Amount of Facebook Use was entered as the independent variable the model was significant and accounted for a significant portion of the variance in School Adjustment-Child scores, however, it should be noted that it was a negative

relationship. Bonding social capital was tested and fully mediated the model. A discussion of the results of the specific hypotheses follows.

Discussion of the Results

Preliminary Analyses

Although a number of researchers have examined the impact of ethnic identity on school adjustment (Fuligni et al., 2005; Liebkind et al., 2004), no researchers have jointly examined the relationship between bonding social capital and ethnic identity on the school adjustment of newcomer refugee students. Furthermore, no study to date has examined the association between Facebook use and these three variables for newcomer refugee high school students. Before investigating the research questions, an examination of the correlations between the four variables of interest—Facebook use, bonding social capital, ethnic identity, and school adjustment was conducted. There was a significant positive relationship between bonding social capital and school adjustment. Additionally, there was a significant negative relationship between Amount of Facebook Use and school adjustment. Surprisingly, these were the only significant relationships found. However, it should be noted that these non-significant results might be due to a Type II error from a low sample size. Regardless, the significant positive association supported further exploration of the predictive nature of bonding social capital on school adjustment in this study.

Contrary to the hypothesis, ethnic identity was not significantly associated with bonding social capital or school adjustment. Although the literature on the relationship between ethnic identity and school adjustment is inconsistent, Fuligni et al. (2005) found

that ethnic identity was related to academic outcomes in a sample of diverse high school students. A difference between the Fuligni et al. (2005) study and the current study is that in Fuligni et al.'s study, participants included a diverse sample of first- and second-generation immigrant students from primarily Mexican, Chinese, and European backgrounds. A possibility exists that there are specific factors associated with the Karen refugee and resettlement experiences that impacted ethnic identity scores. It could be that refugee identity development is different for the Southeast Asian newcomer refugees in this study. These differences may be related to pre-migration experiences that Karen refugees experienced as a result of political persecution by the Burmese military (Mitschke et al., 2011) or could be a result of post-resettlement factors. For example, unlike other refugee groups Karen families tend to relocate after initial resettlement in the United States to communities closer to other members of their ethnic group (Kenny & Lockwood-Kenny, 2011). In this study Karen newcomer refugee adolescents scored relatively high on the MEIM-R and there was little variation in scores. This may have lowered the ability to find significant differences if they did exist.

Grasmuck et al. (2009) explored differences in self-presentation on Facebook for individuals from different ethnic backgrounds and coded participants' Facebook pages for themes related to identity presentation. These researchers found distinct differences in identity presentation among participants from different ethnic groups (Grasmuck et al., 2009), lending preliminary support to the role of Facebook as an outlet for identity presentation among ethnic minority college students. Results from this study, however,

did not indicate a relationship between Facebook use and ethnic identity in this sample of Karen newcomer refugee students.

Identity presentation on Facebook tends to be implicit rather than explicit (i.e. posting photographs or quotes to communicate the self; Grasmuck et al., 2009). Items on the MEIM-R reflect more explicit actions related to identity expression such as, "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs," or " I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group." It may be that a different measure is needed to more accurately assess for implicit ethnic identity behaviors that are a function of Facebook use.

Hypotheses 1 and 2

Research questions 1 and 2 were designed to investigate the size and composition of Karen newcomer refugee high school students' school and Facebook networks. The results of this study indicated that Karen newcomer refugee students had on average about 125 school friends. Of these school friends, an average of 18 were same-ethnic friends and 11 were reported as close/same-ethnic friends. Newcomer Karen refugee students reported an average of 65 cross-ethnic friends at school but the number of close/cross-ethnic friends was on average half this size. In general, this research tends to contradict previous studies that have found newcomer refugee highs school students to be at risk for social isolation (Chuang, 2010; Kovacev & Shute, 2004). It is noteworthy, however, that 5% (N = 2) participants reported no close same-ethnic friendships at school and 13% (N = 5) reported no close/cross-ethnic friendships at school. This is particularly problematic given that students in this study had been living in the United States for at

least 1 year. Previous researchers have established a link between peer networks and school success for newcomer students (Holland, 2009; Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2005; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009); therefore, students who have not established peer relationships may be at risk for negative school related outcomes.

There were no previously published studies examining the composition of newcomer refugee adolescents' friendships on Facebook, but this context seems important to explore as it does not have the same confines of limiting friendships to those within geographical location or building walls that a school might. And given the ubiquitous use of Facebook by adolescents born in the United States (Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, 2008), it seems reasonable that newcomer refugee youth may also make use of this communicative technology to develop and maintain friendships. In the current study, the results of these analyses indicated that Karen newcomer refugee students had accrued a relatively high number of friendships on Facebook and that these Facebook friendship networks were comprised of individuals sharing the same ethnic background and also of individuals from different ethnic backgrounds. The second hypothesis, therefore, that Facebook networks would predominantly consist of only same-ethnic friendships was not supported; however, the results of paired *t*-tests on the means between number of same-ethnic and number of cross-ethnic friends was in the hypothesized direction.

On average, students reported approximately a 3:1 ratio of same-ethnic versus cross-ethnic friends on Facebook. While the average ratio of same- to cross-ethnic friends on Facebook was larger, it needs to be noted that less than 1/4 of the participants had

Facebook friendships that consisted primarily of individuals from their same-ethnic group, and it was even more rare for participants to report networks comprised primarily of cross-ethnic friends. What was actually found was that the majority of participants, close to two-thirds, had blended networks of same-ethnic and cross-ethnic friendships. This suggests that Karen newcomers are utilizing Facebook to connect to other individuals from their same ethnic group and develop friendships with cross-ethnic peers. However, the development of cross-ethnic friends does not appear to come with the price of letting go of same-ethnic friendships.

It could be that Facebook enhances the ability for newcomer refugee adolescents to connect with both cross-ethnic and same-ethnic peers. This is particularly important for newcomer refugee students who may have resettled to communities with fewer numbers of same-ethnicity refugees. The researcher did not ask students where in the United States they were living, so it is unknown if there were differences in responses between participants living in rural areas with fewer numbers of refugee students or those living in more densely populated urban centers. What is also unknown is whether same-ethnic friends were friendships held prior to relocating, or if these were new friendships that had developed since resettling in their current U.S. location. These all seem important questions to ask in future research as these would indicate what types of friendships and connections these refugee Karen students are bridging and bonding with after they have relocated versus prior to relocation. This may factor in to current U.S. school adjustment.

It appears that for participants in this sample, Facebook was a large part of their daily life. The average amount of time spent on Facebook was reported as approximately 2 hours for the 29 participants who answered that question with the range reaching as high as 8 hours per day. In previous studies measuring Facebook use in college students, an average of 74 minutes a day was noted as high (Vitak et al., 2011). It is evident that Facebook use in this sample of newcomer refugee high school students is much higher. Interestingly, even though amounts of use were greater for participants in the current study their mean scores on the items used to assess engagement with Facebook on the Facebook Intensity Scale were similar to scores reported by undergraduate college students. Specifically, the scores for participants in this sample ranged from 2.77 to 3.16 and previously published scores ranged from 2.29 to 3.45 (Ellison et al., 2007), indicating that increased amount of use may not be associated with increased psychological engagement with Facebook.

Hypothesis 3

Given that bonding social capital is more closely associated with homogenous networks where individual members share similarities across several factors (Bottrell, 2009; Holland et al., 2007; Putnam, 2000), it was hypothesized that same-ethnicity networks would be associated with higher scores on the bonding social capital measure. A surprising finding was that there were no significant mean differences in bonding social capital between individuals whose networks were predominantly comprised of same-ethnic peers, cross-ethnic peers, or blended network of peers. This finding suggests that newcomer refugee students are able to develop bonding social capital with peers

regardless of perceived ethnic similarities and differences. This is inconsistent with results from Chan and Birman's (2009) study with Vietnamese immigrant students in which students perceived greater levels of social support from their same-ethnic friends than from cross-ethnic friends. This finding may have been attributed to the fact that Chan and Birman (2009) were only assessing for friendships at school and used a different method for categorizing same-ethnic and cross-ethnic friendships. The researchers asked participants to write down 10 of their best friends at school and then record how many of these friends were cross-ethnic friendships and how many were same-ethnic. This method of friendship composition is not inclusive of their entire friendship network and did not account for the possibility of blended networks consisting of both same- and cross-ethnic friends.

The finding in the current study, that there are no differences in bonding social capital between same-ethnic friendship networks and cross-ethnic friendship networks, is inconsistent with the immigrant optimism hypothesis (Kao & Tienda, 1995) and segmented assimilation frameworks (Portes & Zhou, 1993) that highlight the importance of close-knit communities on the establishment of social support for newcomer students. Perhaps the findings from this study are a result of the unique types of friendships that are developed on Facebook. Recent research on Facebook networks indicates that there are many different types of relationships on Facebook ranging from acquaintances to close friends (Manago, Taylor, & Greenfield, 2012) and different forms of social capital have been associated with different types of relationships (Ellison et al., 2007; Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011; Putnam, 2000).

Participants in the current study reported a relatively large number of cross-ethnic friendships on Facebook, but reported fewer numbers of close friendships among these cross-ethnic friends. The reduced ratio of close/cross-ethnic friends compared to close/ same-ethnic friends may be indicative of bridging social capital rather than bonding social capital as an outcome of these relationships. Previous studies examining social capital development on Facebook have tended to find a stronger predictive relationship between Facebook use and measures of bridging social capital (Ellison et al., 2007; Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011). However, the non-significant finding in this study may also be due to low power and low sample size, and needs to be applied with caution.

Hypothesis 4

The original path model hypothesizing a relationship between Facebook use and school adjustment through bonding social capital and ethnic identity was not conducted due to the small sample size and insufficient power to detect a significant effect. Instead, a mediation model was used to test the role of bonding social capital that emerged as a variable that was significantly associated with school adjustment. Ethnic identity was dropped from the tested model because it was not associated with any of the other study variables.

There were several measures of Facebook use included in the study. These consisted of Amount of Facebook Use (measured by time on site per day) and engagement with Facebook (measured by the 6 emotional engagement questions on the Facebook Intensity Scale). It was found in this study that the emotional engagement questions on the Facebook Intensity Scale were not associated with bonding social

capital. Tomai et al. (2010) had a similar finding in a study with Italian high school students. The researchers found that there was not a significant relationship between scores on the Facebook Intensity Scale and bonding social capital (Tomai et al., 2010). In the current study the Amount of Facebook Use was the only Facebook related variable associated with school adjustment, therefore, this was the only measure of Facebook use examined in the final mediation model.

The current findings demonstrated evidence of a predictive relationship between Amount of Facebook Use and bonding social capital. When tested for the direct relationship, Amount of Facebook Use accounted for 24% of the variance in Social Provisions scale scores and 17% of the variance in School Adjustment-Child scores. When combined in the final model, daily usage did not directly relate to school adjustment, but in fact was mediated by bonding social capital, with the full model explaining 27% of the variance for school adjustment.

What should be highlighted is the surprising finding that the relationship between Amount of Facebook Use and bonding social capital was opposite of the hypothesized direction. This indicates that as the amount of time spent on Facebook increases bonding social capital decreases suggesting that amount of time on Facebook may take away from potential opportunities to form relationships off of Facebook, or at minimum form strong, close relationships in any situation (e.g., school or online). It could be that individuals who spend a great deal of time on Facebook are not using Facebook in ways that promote bonding social capital and instead use is more characteristic of developments in bridging social capital. Other researchers have supported the association between Facebook use

and bridging social capital (Ellison et al., 2007; Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011; Tomai et al., 2010). There has been some support for the association between Facebook use and bonding social capital (Ellison et al., 2009), although this finding typically tends to be less robust than the links between Facebook use and bridging social capital (Ellison et al., 2007; Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011; Vitak et al., 2011). The finding in the current study that there was a negative relationship between Amount of Facebook Use and bonding social capital parallels the findings of Vitak et al. (2011). These researchers found that daily Internet use was associated with a negative relationship between the reliable alliance and attachment scales of the Social Provisions Scale (Vitak et al., 2011). These findings suggest the importance of further exploring the relationship between amount of daily Facebook use and the potential detrimental impact on the development of close relationships.

The Internet Social Capital Scale (ISCS) developed by Williams (2006) was used in the studies that found an association between bridging social capital and Facebook Intensity Scale scores (Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011; Tomai et al., 2010). The ISCS (Williams, 2006) draws heavily on Putnam's bridging and bonding social capital distinctions. Williams (2006) conceptualized social capital as a specific outcome of interest; whereas, other researchers view social capital as a mediating variable (Kovacev & Shute, 2004; Garcia-Reid, 2007; Ryabov, 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). Given that bonding social capital was hypothesized to be a mediator in the current study, the Social Provisions Scale was used to measure the nuances of bonding social capital. It appears that the Social Provisions Scale was an accurate way to assess bonding social

capital in this study; however, further use in studies designed to specifically assess bridging and bonding social capital conjointly would provide more information about its effectiveness.

The current study lends support to the importance of examining the mediating role that peer social support established through bonding social capital plays on the academic adjustment of newcomer refugee students. In an earlier study, Kovacev and Shute (2004) established that social support mediated the relationship between acculturation attitudes and global self-worth and peer acceptance. This study also lends support to the role that bonding social capital plays in the school adjustment of newcomer refugee students. It appears that higher levels of bonding social capital are predictive of higher levels of school adjustment, and that bonding social capital does not necessarily come from usage of Facebook for refugee students and Facebook usage may actually decrease bonding social capital in these students.

Overall, the results of this study provide evidence of a predictive relationship between amount of Facebook use and school adjustment through the development of bonding social capital. It appears that there is preliminary support for the model addressed in the study. These results, however, should be interpreted with caution and in the context of the study limitations.

Limitations

The results of this study provide insight into the composition of newcomer Karen refugee adolescents' friendships at school and on Facebook. Preliminary findings suggest that there is an explanatory relationship between amount of Facebook use and school

adjustment through the mediating role of bonding social capital. The explanatory power of these results, however, is limited by the research design and current sample.

The current study was based on survey design. Survey design methodology has several flaws related to response rates. It could be that there were significant differences in the participants who completed the measure and those that began the survey but did not complete all questions. It is noteworthy, that the survey went active during the winter holiday break for public schools. It may be that students were home for greater amounts of time during the winter break and that this may have impacted their amount of Facebook usage.

It is possible that one of the differences between individuals completing the survey and those that stopped before survey completion was familiarity with English. The cultural broker informed the researcher that some participants had problems understanding a few of the questions. The researcher tried to control for this by having one of the cultural brokers read through the survey questions in their entirety and flag any questions that may be difficult to understand or had a different meaning cross-culturally. The Facebook Intensity Scale in particular had Flesch-Kincaid readability scores on a 12^{th} grade reading level when checked through the feature in Microsoft Word; however not all participants were in 12^{th} grade and English was a second language for most. The alpha coefficients were all above .78 for each of the measures, but the possibility still exists that unfamiliarity with English might have impacted the results.

There are limitations with the measurements themselves. For example, on the measure of amount of time spent on Facebook only 29 respondents provided numerical

responses. Many of the respondents wrote in answers and one participant indicated that it was difficult to come up with an accurate time measurement because “I just leave my FB online in my iPod but if I’m bored I just went on for 30 min and do other things in my home left it open often and checked frequently.” The amount of Facebook use was only assessed through this one question and the response rate was significantly lower for this question than any of the others.

In order to strengthen the internal validity of the sample, the researcher specifically focused on Karen refugees. The use of cultural brokers may have limited the generalizability of the sample. Given that one cultural broker recruited many of the participants, it could be that the participants were reflective of one particular social network and may not reflect the experiences of all Karen newcomer refugee high school students. The use of a small, non-random sample in this study limits the generalizability of the findings.

Previous researchers have determined that measurement error is often higher in non-field studies versus experimental studies and contributes to problems with statistical power to find significant results (McClelland & Judd, 1993). Additionally, the sample was smaller than originally anticipated and this significantly increased the probability of a Type II error. To correct for this, the researcher decided to include results that were significant at the .10 level which increased the power to find significant results, but also introduced an increased chance for committing a Type I error.

Implications

According to the American School Counseling Association National Model (ASCA; 2012), school counselors are responsible for providing comprehensive services related to academic preparation and personal/social growth for all students. An emphasis of the revised version of the model is an importance placed on implementation of the model in a culturally responsive way (ASCA, 2012). Considering that newcomer refugee students have specific educational needs given their loss of support networks (Anstiss & Ziaian, 2010), potential trauma exposure (Bemak & Chung, 2005), and limited proficiency in English (Yakushko et al., 2008), it becomes imperative for school counselors to consider interventions that will help facilitate successful school adjustment.

Overall, one of the most significant implications of this research is the importance of peer relationships on the school adjustment of newcomer refugee high school students. Previous research examining the academic outcomes of newcomer students has focused primarily on parental support (Kovacev & Shute, 2004; Liebkind et al., 2004). This study lends empirical support to the influence that peer relationships have on the school adjustment of newcomer refugee students through bonding social capital. A future study might include both parental support and bonding social capital with peers to determine which is more influential in school adjustment, or the combination of these two factors.

The importance of bonding social capital on newcomer refugee students' school adjustment underscores the importance of school counselors implementing interventions designed to enhance relationship development. Often times there is a focus on relationship building between newcomer students and adults in the school or community

(Suárez-Orozco et al., 2010); however, results from this study indicate that peer relationships may also have an important role in helping newcomer students adjust to school. Interventions that enrich school-based relational development such as mentoring programs, group counseling interventions, and opportunities for extracurricular relationship development may enhance the school adjustment of newcomer refugee youth. It may be that newcomer refugee students would benefit from these relational opportunities regardless of whether same-ethnic peers are present. Findings from the current study indicate that bonding social capital is associated with school adjustment regardless of whether friendship networks consist primarily of same-ethnic or cross-ethnic peers.

Results from this study indicate that on average Karen newcomer refugee students are utilizing Facebook in excess of 2 hours daily. Given that increased Facebook use was associated with decreased bonding social capital and less successful adjustment to school, it becomes critical for school counselors to assess how often newcomer refugee students are using Facebook and behaviors associated with site use. The relatively extensive amount of use by participants in this study suggests that newcomer refugee students may be particularly susceptible to negative outcomes.

Recently, The Internet Keep Safe Coalition (iKeepSafe) and ASCA published Facebook for School Counselors (2012), a guide designed to promote safe student use of Facebook. The guide includes suggestions for ways that school counselors can become more familiar with Facebook so that they are knowledgeable about how to confront and address incidents on Facebook that impact students at school. Examples of potential

negative outcomes associated with Facebook use include bullying, privacy concerns, and portraying a negative image (iKeepSafe & ASCA, 2012). Results from the current study indicate that another potential outcome of Facebook use is that high use may be detrimental to school adjustment. For example, results from the current study suggest that higher amounts of Facebook use may actually be preventing newcomer refugee students from developing close peer relationships. The possibility exists that this may be due to the amount of time that is devoted to visiting the site.

The Facebook for School Counselors (iKeepSafe & ASCA, 2012) guide briefly mentions the possibility that Facebook could increase students' social awareness and access to social support; however, this may not be true for all students. For example, findings from this study actually suggest that the opposite occurs for newcomer refugee students; increased Facebook use was associated with losses in bonding social capital and was detrimental to school adjustment. The Facebook for School Counselors (iKeepSafe & ASCA, 2012) guide recommends that school counselors consider using Facebook as part of a comprehensive school counseling program, particularly in regards to disseminating college and career information. Results from this study suggest however that the benefits of using Facebook may be different for students from ethnically diverse backgrounds. When using SNS to deliver the components of a comprehensive school counseling program, school counselors may want to anticipate potential considerations for newcomer refugee students.

Future Research

The results of this study indicate the opposite of a dose-dependent effect of Facebook use and school adjustment in so far as higher amounts of use are predictive of lower levels of bonding social capital and school adjustment. Further information is needed to determine if there is an optimal level of Facebook use that facilitates gains in bonding social capital and school adjustment. Discrepancies exist in the literature regarding what constitutes frequent SNS use. Some researchers have indicated frequent use as checking once a day; however, other researchers have quantified frequent use as checking multiple times a day (Baker & White, 2010; Mikami et al., 2010) To account for this, it may be important to assess for length of time spent on site and amount of times per day that participants log on to Facebook. Further, studies with a larger sample size and use of a control group may provide additional insight regarding the relationship between daily Facebook use and indicators of psychological and social adjustment.

The outcome variable assessed in the current study was school adjustment. It is still not known how Facebook use relates to academic factors such as school achievement. There are no known studies that have examined the relationship between school adjustment and school achievement for newcomer refugee students. It would be interesting for future researchers to examine the impact of Facebook use on indicators of academic achievement such as end-of-course and end-of-grade testing and grade point average.

Additionally, future longitudinal studies could assess for how social capital develops for newcomer refugee students over time. Although, there were not specific

differences on mean scores on the measures for newcomer Karen adolescents living in the United States for less than 3 years and for individuals living in the United States from 3-6 years, it is unknown what individuals' levels of social capital were upon arrival in the United States. Longitudinal studies would provide insight into how social capital develops over time and if there are certain pivotal windows where the development of social capital online is more or less beneficial to school adjustment.

Given that a relationship was not found between ethnic identity and the other constructs of interest in this study, it may be that the MEIM-R (Phinney & Ong, 2007) does not capture the specific behaviors that newcomer refugee students are using to construct and display their ethnic identity on Facebook. Qualitative investigations using focus groups with newcomer refugee highs school students may encapsulate some of the themes of how refugee students are specifically using Facebook and how they perceive its use being related to their school adjustment and identity development. This may help researchers better understand how to develop measures that assess adolescent online identity expression.

Additionally, methodologies such as content analysis could be used to code newcomer refugee high school students' Facebook profiles and assess for dimensions of identity expression or school related themes that appear on their Facebook Walls. This would provide researchers with more detailed information about who is communicating with newcomer refugee students on their Facebook profiles, the types of images that they portray on their pages, and information related to whether or not they tend to post primarily in English or in their home language. It also would be interesting to note

references that are made to cultural artifacts such as traditional dress, food, and customs that are related to their ethnic group.

Many researchers that attempt to elucidate the types of relationships on Facebook face problems with how to best capture this information. Some researchers have tried to assess the closeness of relationships by having participants report a list of their top 20 friends and then have them indicate the strength of these relationships ranging from acquaintances to close friends (Manago et al., 2012). The composition of this list is then used to extrapolate percentages of friends in these categories for their entire friendship network. For refugee students in particular, it would be important to better understand whom they are communicating with on Facebook. For example, a better item might be, "List the top five people that you communicate with the most on Facebook and provide examples of what you communicate with this person about." Another important question would be to ask, "Are there times when you use Facebook more often than others? If so, list times in the past week when you used Facebook the most."

In an earlier study on social capital development on Facebook, Ellison et al. (2007) talked about maintained social capital that exists for college students who originally lived in geographically close locations and separated when moving to college. Although the researcher did not assess for these relationships in the current study, it may be important for researchers to determine if social capital developed through Facebook use is primarily a result of reconnecting with friendships established prior to resettlement or with new friends developed after resettling in the United States.

Future researchers may benefit from assessing bonding and bridging social capital conjointly. The relationship between bridging and bonding social capital may be more complex for refugee students. It may be that there are specific features of the site that are associated with different types of social capital. For example, one feature of Facebook that has the potential to generate bonding social capital is the formation of Facebook Groups. It could be that bonding social capital accrues through the use of Facebook in these constrained and more private forums.

Given that technology is always advancing and changing, it may be important in future studies to ask about all the types of social networking and communicative technology that adolescents use to maintain and develop friendships with their peers. For the purpose of this investigation, only information about Facebook was obtained but there is anecdotal evidence that many newcomer refugee students use technology such as Skype and other video chat software to communicate with family and friends living in refugee camps.

Conclusion

Schools reflect the diversity apparent in our globally connected world and it is the charge of school counselors working in these schools to ensure that all students are successfully adjusting to the school environment. Contributing to this diversity are a large number of refugees arriving from Southeast Asian countries. As of 2012, one in three refugees resettling in the United States identified as Karen (Martin & Yankay, 2012), necessitating the need for school counselors to become aware of how to help facilitate successful school adjustment for these students.

Researchers have found that Facebook facilitates the development of friendships and is associated with social capital resources such as access to novel information and social support (Ellison et al., 2007; Ellison, Steinfield, et al., 2011). Although previous researchers have investigated the influence of ethnic identity and social capital on school adjustment, there is a dearth of researchers who have examined these constructs conjointly. Additionally, a significant gap exists on the impact of SNS use on resettlement outcomes such as school adjustment. Thus, the purpose of this study was to contribute understanding to the impact of both ethnic identity and bonding social capital on school adjustment.

This study examined data from the first known investigation of school adjustment and Facebook use among 40 Karen newcomer refugee high school students. Overall, the researcher found that newcomer refugee Karen students are utilizing Facebook to develop friendships with individuals that share the same ethnicity and with peers from different ethnicities. There was a significant relationship between bonding social capital and school adjustment; however, there were not differences in bonding social capital based on the composition of participants' peer networks. The final model demonstrated that amount of Facebook use was a significant predictor of school adjustment scores and that bonding social capital mediates this relationship. Participants with higher amounts of Facebook use had less bonding social capital and were less adjusted to school.

Important implications exist for school counselors working with newcomer refugee students. Given the importance of bonding social capital on school adjustment, school counselors should consider ways to foster peer relationships for newcomer refugee

students. It appears that higher levels of bonding social capital are predictive of higher levels of school adjustment, and that bonding social capital does not necessarily come from usage of Facebook for refugee students and Facebook usage may actually decrease bonding social capital in these students. As reported in the implications section, results from this study suggest that there may be detriments to relationship development as a result of higher levels of Facebook use. When considering the use of social networking sites in the delivery of a comprehensive school counseling program, school counselors should be aware that there may be groups of students that encounter risks related to relationship development and school adjustment as a result of Facebook use, as was the case for Karen newcomer refugee students in this study. The current study supports further inquiry into the relationship between Facebook use, bonding social capital, and school adjustment. Using a variety of research designs with other refugee populations will strengthen understanding of the impact of Facebook use on school adjustment for newcomer refugee students.

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APPENDIX A

INSTRUMENTATION

Demographic Questionnaire

1. How old are you (in years)?
2. How old were you when you arrived in the United States (in years)?
3. How long have you lived in the United States (in years and months) (For example: 1year, 1 year and 6 months, 2 years 3 months)?
4. What grade are you in?
5. What is your gender?
6. In what country were you born?
7. Where did you live before you moved to the United States?
8. What language do you speak at home?
9. What language do you speak at school?
10. What language do you prefer to speak?
11. Select among this list any cultural group you identify with. You may select more than one.

American, Asian, Asian-American, Karen, Karen-American, Thai, Thai-American, other

12. Of these cultural groups, which one do you identify with the most?
13. Have you changed schools in the past academic year?
14. How many schools have you attended in the past year?
15. About how many friends do you have at school (Please type the number) (For example: 5, 25, 514)?
16. About how many of these friends are the same culture as you (Please type the number)?
17. About how many of these same-culture friends are close friends (Please type the number)?
18. About how many of these school friends are a different culture than you (Please type the number)?
19. About how many of these friends of a different culture are close friends (Please type the number)?

These next questions are about Facebook. You may want to look at your Facebook Profile to answer these questions.
20. Are you a member of Facebook?
21. How many Friends do you have on Facebook (Please type the number)?
22. Of these Facebook Friends, how many are you also friends with at school?
23. Approximately how many of your TOTAL Facebook Friends share the same culture

as you (Please type the number)?
24. Of these Facebook Friends that share the same culture as you, how many would you consider close friends (Please type the number)?
25. Approximately how many of your TOTAL Facebook Friends have a different culture than you (Please type the number)?
26. Of these Facebook Friends that have a different culture than you, how many would you consider close friends (Please type the number)?
27. Are their ways that Facebook has helped your school experiences?
28. If so, what are some ways that it has helped?

Facebook Intensity
(Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007)

Please use the following scale to answer questions 1-6.
1= Strongly Disagree 2=Disagree 3=Neither Agree nor Disagree 4=Agree 5=Strongly Agree

1. Facebook is part of my everyday activity.
2. I am proud to tell people I'm on Facebook.
3. Facebook has become a part of my daily routine.
4. I feel out of touch when I haven't logged onto Facebook for a while.
5. I feel I am part of the Facebook community.
6. I would be sorry if Facebook shut down.
7. Approximately how many TOTAL Facebook friends do you have?
8. In the past week, on average, approximately how much time PER DAY have you spent actively using Facebook?

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney & Ong, 2007)

Please use the following scale to answer the questions.
1= Strongly Disagree 2=Disagree 3=Neither Agree nor Disagree 4=Agree 5=Strongly Agree

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
2. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
3. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.
4. I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic group better.
5. I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group.
6. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

School Adjustment—Child Questionnaire
(Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1997)

We are interested in learning about how this past year went for you.
First of all, did you enter a new school this past year? Yes or No

Now, you will some read sentences, and I would like to know whether each sentence is true for you, or not true. Please answer all items on this five-point scale.
1= Never True 2=Seldom True 3=Sometimes True 4=Usually True 5=Always True

1. This past school year was especially difficult for me.
2. I had an easy time handling the new academic demands made on me.
3. My school friends and I got along well this past year.
4. Other kids tried to hit me or make fun of me this past year.
5. I stayed out of trouble with teachers and the disciplinarians at school.
6. I had a good year at school.
7. School work was really hard this past year.
8. I had a hard time making friends at school this past year.
9. Other kids tried to make me do things that I should not do.
10. I got into some trouble this year by breaking school rules.
11. I liked the new things about school this past year.
12. I did not do as well as I should have in academics this past year.
13. I did not have many friends at my school this past year.
14. Other kids bothered me this past year.
15. Teachers were on me because I broke some rules.
16. My school is a place where people treat me well.
17. Most teachers at my school do not care about kids, especially me.
18. My school is a place where kids will succeed.
19. Bad things happen to me at school.
20. School is fun.

Social Provisions Scale
(Cutrona & Russell, 1987)

Instructions: In answering the following questions, think about your current relationships with friends, family members, co-workers, community members, and so on. Please indicate to what extent each statement describes your current relationships with other people. Use the following scale to indicate your opinion.

STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE
1	2	3	4

So, for example, if you feel a statement is very true of your current relationships, you would respond with a 4 (strongly agree). If you feel a statement clearly does not describe your relationships, you would respond with a 1 (strongly disagree).

1. There are people I can depend on to help me if I really need it.
2. I feel that I do not have close personal relationships with other people.
3. There is no one I can turn to for guidance in times of stress.
4. If something went wrong, no one would come to my assistance.
5. I have close relationships that provide me with a sense of emotional security and well-being.
6. There is someone I could talk to about important decisions in my life.
7. There is a trustworthy person I could turn to for advice if I were having problems.
8. I feel a strong emotional bond with at least one other person.
9. There is no one I can depend on for aid if I really need it.
10. There is no one I feel comfortable talking about problems with.
11. I lack a feeling of intimacy with another person.
12. There are people who I can count on in an emergency.
13. There are people who enjoy the same social activities that I do.
14. I feel part of a group of people who share my attitudes and beliefs.
15. There is no one who shares my interests and concerns.
16. There is no one who likes to do the things I do.

APPENDIX B

PERMISSIONS TO USE INSTRUMENTATION

Demographic Questionnaire

This was created by the author.

Facebook Intensity Scale

Ellison, N. B., Steinfield, C., & Lampe, C. (2007). The benefits of Facebook "friends": Social capital and college students use of online social network sites. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 12*, 1143-1168.

The Facebook Intensity Scale is available for use on the website. The permission to use from the website is included below.

TOIL

The Online Interaction Lab

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Home | Research | Papers | Scales | About Us

Scales

Facebook Intensity (FBI)

The Facebook Intensity scale is used to measure Facebook usage beyond simple measures of frequency and duration, incorporating emotional connectedness to the site and its integration into individuals' daily activities. You are free to use the Facebook intensity scale (FBI) as long as correct attribution is used.
Please cite:
Ellison, N. B., Steinfield, C., & Lampe, C. (2007). The benefits of Facebook "friends:" Social capital and college students use of online social network sites. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 12*, 1143-1168.

Scale Items
1. Facebook is part of my everyday activity
2. I am proud to tell people I'm on Facebook
3. Facebook has become part of my daily routine
4. I feel out of touch when I haven't logged onto Facebook for a while
5. I feel I am part of the Facebook community
6. I would be sorry if Facebook shut down
7. Approximately how many TOTAL Facebook friends do you have? *
8. In the past week, on average, approximately how much time PER DAY have you spent actively using Facebook?**

Response categories range from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree, unless otherwise noted.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure-Revised (MEIM-R; Phinney & Ong, 2007)

Phinney, J., & Ong, A. (2007). Conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity: Current status and future directions. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54*, 271–281.

Email correspondence with the author of the instrument providing documentation of permission.

Permission to Use the MEIM-R

3 messages

Lucy Lewis <ldlewis2@uncg.edu> Mon, Jul 30, 2012 at 1:38 PM
To: jphinne@calstatela.edu

Dr. Phinney,

My name is Lucy Lewis and I am currently a third-year doctoral student in the Counseling and Educational Development Department at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro. I am beginning the writing process of my dissertation and am interested in using the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure – Revised for my dissertation study. I know you have given permission to use the MEIM but wanted to check with you before using the MEIM-R in my dissertation research with refugee adolescents. If you are open to my using the instrument, please let me know if there are any specific requirements other then sending the research findings. Thanks for your time and consideration and I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Lucy Lewis

--
Lucy D. Lewis, M.S., Ed.S., NCC
Doctoral Student
Department of Counseling and Educational Development
University of North Carolina at Greensboro
228 Curry Building
PO Box 26170
Greensboro, NC 27402
ldlewis2@uncg.edu
"Although the world is full of suffering it is full also of the overcoming of it." Helen Keller

Phinney, Jean s. <jphinne@exchange.calstatela.edu> Tue, Jul 31, 2012 at 10:03 AM
To: Lucy Lewis <ldlewis2@uncg.edu>

Dear Lucy,

You are welcome to use the scale. There are no special demands that are required.

Regards, Jean Phinney

Social Support Provisions Scale (Cutrona & Russell, 1987).

Cutrona, C. E., & Russell, D. (1987). The provisions of social relationships and adaptation to stress. In W. J. Jones & D. Perlman (Eds.), *Advances in personal relationships, Vol. 1* (pp. 37–67Vol. 1). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press

Email correspondence with the author of the instrument providing documentation of permission.

Russell, Daniel W [HD FS] <drussell@iastate.edu> Wed, Aug 1, 2012 at 5:27 PM
To: Lucy Lewis <ldlewis2@uncg.edu>

Lucy:

I have attached a chapter on the Social Provisions Scale that includes a copy of the measure along with scoring instructions at the end. You have my permission to use the scale in your research; my only request is that you send me a summary of your findings once you have completed your research.

Dan

Daniel W. Russell, Ph.D.
Professor, Department of Human
Development & Family Studies
Iowa State University
(515) 294-4187
Fax: 294-2502

From: Lucy Lewis [mailto:ldlewis2@uncg.edu]
Sent: Monday, July 30, 2012 12:33 PM
To: drussell@iastate.edu
Subject: Permission to Use the Social Provisions Scale

[Quoted text hidden]

Social Provisions Scale chapter.pdf
214K

Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group (CPPRG). (1997). *School Adjustment – Child.* Retrieved from the Fast Track Project Web site http://www.fasttrackproject.org

The School Adjustment – Child Questionnaire is available for use on the project website. The permission to use from the website is included below.

School Adjustment Child Questionnaire (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1997)

4. Can I use instruments created by Fast Track in my research study?

Yes. The Conduct Problems Preventions Research Group (CPPRG) or Fast Track created some of the instruments, which are available for downloading on our web site. You will be granted permission to use the instruments that were developed by CPPRG; however, please do not photocopy and distribute them. Instead, create your own questionnaire from the measure and cite the source as the "Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group." For more information, please contact Pamela Ahrens at the Fast Track Data Center: ahrens@duke.edu

TOP

APPENDIX C

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

THE UNIVERSITY of NORTH CAROLINA
GREENSBORO

OFFICE OF RESEARCH COMPLIANCE
2718 Beverly Cooper Moore and Irene Mitchell Moore
Humanities and Research Administration Bldg.
PO Box 26170
Greensboro, NC 27402-6170
336.256.1482
Web site: www.uncg.edu/orc
Federalwide Assurance (FWA) #216

To: Kelly Wester
Counsel and Ed Development
219 Curry Building

From: UNCG IRB

Authorized signature on behalf of IRB

Approval Date: 9/26/2012
Expiration Date of Approval: 9/25/2013

RE: Notice of IRB Approval by Expedited Review (under 45 CFR 46.110)
Submission Type: Initial
Expedited Category: 7.Surveys/interviews/focus groups
Study #: 12-0298
Study Title: Social Networking and the School Adjustment of Karen Refugee Youth from Burma: Determining the Effects of Cultural Identity, Bonding Social Capital, and Facebook Use

This submission has been approved by the IRB for the period indicated. It has been determined that the risk involved in this research is no more than minimal.

Study Description:

The purpose of this study is to explore the social network composition of newcomer refugee Karen students on Facebook based on whether their networks are primarily composed of peers with the same cultural identity or peers born in the United States.

Regulatory and other findings:

Documentation of Parental Consent was waived per 45 CFR 46 116 (d)

Investigator's Responsibilities

Federal regulations require that all research be reviewed at least annually. It is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to submit for renewal and obtain approval before the expiration date. You may not continue any research activity beyond the expiration date without IRB approval. Failure to receive approval for continuation before the expiration date will result in automatic termination of the approval for this study on the expiration date.

Signed letters, along with stamped copies of consent forms and other recruitment materials will be scanned to you in a separate email. These consent forms must be used unless the IRB hasgiven you approval to waive this requirement.

You are required to obtain IRB approval for any changes to any aspect of this study before they can be implemented (use the modification application available at http://www.uncg.edu/orc/irb.htm). Should any adverse event or unanticipated problem involving risks to subjects or others occur it must be reported immediately to the IRB using the "Unanticipated Problem/Event" form at the same website.

CC:
Lucy Lewis
ORC, (ORC), Non-IRB Review Contact

IRB <irbcorre@uncg.edu> Thu, Oct 11, 2012 at 12:17 PM
To: klwester@uncg.edu
Cc: ldlewis2@uncg.edu, irbcorre@uncg.edu

To: Kelly Wester
Counsel And Ed Development
219 Curry Building

From: UNCG IRB

_____
Authorized signature on behalf of IRB

Approval Date: 10/11/2012
Expiration Date of Approval: 9/25/2013

RE: Notice of IRB Approval by Expedited Review (under 45 CFR 46.110)
Submission Type: Modification
Expedited Category: Minor Change to Previously Reviewed Research
Study #: 12-0298
Study Title: Social Networking and the School Adjustment of Karen Refugee Youth from Burma: Determining the Effects of Cultural Identity, Bonding Social Capital, and Facebook Use

This submission has been approved by the above IRB for the period indicated. It has been determined that the risk involved in this modification is no more than minimal.

Submission Description:

This modification, dated 10/8/12, addresses the following:

- Addition of 7 questions to demographic form.
- Addition of snowball recruitment.
- Addition of incentives.

Regulatory and other findings:

Documentation of Parental Consent was waived per 45 CFR 46 116 (d)

APPENDIX D

INFORMED CONSENT

Assent Form for Minors

Project Title: Social Networking and the School Adjustment of Karen Refugee Youth from Burma: Determining the Effects of Cultural Identity, Bonding Social Capital, and Facebook Use
Researcher: Lucy Lewis

WHY AM I HERE?

We want to tell you about a research study we are doing. Research studies are done to find better ways of helping and understanding people or to get information about how things work. In this study we want to find out more about how Karen teenagers living in the United States use Facebook. It also would be interesting to find out about some of your experiences at school. You are being asked to be in the study because you are a Karen teenager living in the United States for less than 6 years and are in high school. In this study, you only take the survey if you want to, it is not required of you.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO ME IN THIS RESEARCH STUDY?

If it is okay with you and you agree to join this study, you will be asked to answer some questions about how you use Facebook and about your experiences at school. You will be asked to go online and answer questions that will about 45 minutes. If you are under 18, your parents must also agree for you to participate.

HOW LONG WILL I BE IN THE RESEARCH STUDY?

You will only have to take the questionnaires one time.

CAN ANYTHING BAD HAPPEN TO ME?

We do not know of any risks to you of being in this study. There may be a question that makes you feel uncomfortable and you may choose not to answer that question or email me and let me know about your concern.

CAN ANYTHING GOOD HAPPEN TO ME IN THIS RESEARCH STUDY?

We do not know if your participation in the study will help you. We may learn something that will help school counselors work with other students, like yourself, who may be coming from other countries to live in the United States.

DO I HAVE OTHER CHOICES?

You do not have to be part of this study. It is your choice. You may decide to stop at any time while answering the questions. No one will be mad at you if you change your mind.

WHAT ABOUT MY CONFIDENTIALITY?

There is no identifying information that will be collected. All information from the surveys will be password protected on the researcher's personal computer.

WILL I BE PAID FOR BEING IN THIS RESEARCH STUDY?

You will receive a $5 gift card to Target for completing this study.

DO MY PARENTS KNOW ABOUT THIS RESEARCH STUDY?

If you are younger than 18 years old, your parent/parents/guardian has given permission for you to be in it. If you are over 18 years old, your parents have not been informed and participation in the study is your choice.

WHAT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?

You can ask Lucy Lewis (ldlewis2@uncg.edu, 434-960-5127) or Dr. Kelly Wester (klwester@uncg.edu) anything about the study. We would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro to make sure that your rights as a participant are protected. If you have any concerns about questions about your participation please call Cristy McGoff in the Office Research Compliance at 336-256-1482.

ASSENT

By clicking the "Click to Accept" button below you are acknowledging that you have read this and are willing to be in the study.

Parental Consent Form—English Version

Dear Parent or Guardian,

My name is Lucy Lewis and I am a doctoral student at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro (UNCG). I am working to help students have a better experience at school. Recently, I have become interested in finding out more about the experiences of Karen high school students living in the United States for less than six years. This is a research study. I want to research more about how Karen high school students use the computer to communicate friendships and how this helps them at school.

If it is ok with you, I would like your child to answer some questions about how they use the computer and their friendships. Students will use the computer to answer questions. It should take less than 45 minutes for them to answer. Your child will not be required to give their name in this research. Helping with this research is voluntary and you can say no. Your child will get a $5 gift card for helping with this study. There are no direct benefits for participating.

The questions asked will not be political or embarrassing and most questions are about school and friendships. Some students do not make friends easily so some of the questions about friends may make them feel uncomfortable. This would be the only negative thing. No one will know how your child answered because they will not give their name. Absolute confidentiality of data provided through the Internet cannot be guaranteed due to the limited protections of Internet access. Please be sure to close your browser when finished so no one will be able to see what you have been doing.

If you have any questions about this research you may contact Lucy Lewis (ldlewis2@uncg.edu) by email or phone (434-960-5127) or Dr. Kelly Wester (klwester@uncg.edu). If you have any questions about how the research was conducted, please contact Cristy McGoff in the Office of Research Compliance at UNCG at (855)-251-2351.

Thank you very much,
Lucy Lewis
Doctoral Student

By clicking the “Click to Accept” button, you agree that you have read this paragraph, agree to allow your child to participate, and that you are the parent/guardian of the child helping with the study. Click “Print” to have a copy of this form to keep.

Parent Consent Form (Sgaw Karen Translation)

ဆူ
မိ်ပါ (မ့) ပှၤကွၢ်ထွဲကွိဖိ

ယမံၤမ့ၢ် **Lucy Lewis** ဒီးယမ့ၢ်ဖွဉ်စိမိၤကွိဖိလၢကဲထိဉ်တၢ်ကူဉ်ဘဉ်ကူဉ်သ့လၢအပတီၢ် ထီကတၢၢ် **(PhD)** လၢ **The University of North Carolina Greensboro in Greensboro, North Carolina.** ယမၤလိတၢ်ဒ်သိးယသးအိဉ်ဃုသ့ဉ်ညါကွိဖိတဖဉ်လၢကမၤလိန့ၢ်တၢ်ဂ့ၤန့ၢ်ဖံးအလိၢ်နှဉ်လီၤ. ခဲအံၤယသးအိဉ်ဃုသ့ဉ်ညါဘဉ်ဃးပှၤကညီဖိလၢအိဉ်လၢတီၤတိကွိအဂ့ၢ် လၢအဝဲသ့ဉ်အိဉ်လၢကိၢ်အခဲရကၤအပူၤစ့ၤန့ၢ်ဖံး (၅) နံဉ်နှဉ်လီၤ. အဝဲအံၤမ့ၢ် တၢ်မၤလိဘဉ်ဃးတၢ်ဃုသ့ဉ်ညါန့ၢ်ပၢၢ်တၢ်နှဉ်လီၤ.
ယအဲဉ်ဖိးဃုသ့ဉ်ညါနၢၢ်ပၢၢ်အါထိဉ်ကညီတီၤထိကွိဖိလၢအသူဝဲ **Computer** လၢကွိတၢ်မၤအဂိၢ်မ့ၢ်ဂ့ၤ, လၢတၢ်ဆဲးကျၢဆဲးကျိးလိာ် သးလၢကဲထိဉ်တံၤသကိးတဖဉ်အဃိနှဉ်လီၤ.

နမ့ၢ်ဟ့ဉ်တၢ်ပျဲလံနှဉ် ယအဲဉ်ဖိးလၢနဖိကစံးဆၢတၢ်သံကွၢ်ဘဉ်ဃးလၢနဖိသူဝဲ **Computer** လၢကွိမ့ၢ်ဂ့ၤ, ဃုာ်ဖိးတံၤသကိးဖိး **Facebook** ဒ်လဲဉ်နှဉ်လီၤ. ကွိဖိတဖဉ်ကဘဉ်သူဝဲ **Computer** လၢကဘဉ်စံးဆၢတၢ်သံကွၢ်လၢ **Online** နှဉ်လီၤ. တၢ်သံကွၢ်တဖဉ်နမ့ၢ်စံးဆၢအီၤန့ဉ်တယံာ်နှ့ၢ်ဖံး (၄၅) မံးနံးဘဉ်. နဖိတလိဉ်ကွဲးလီၤအမံၤဘဉ်. နမ့ၢ်တသးအိဉ်စံးဆၢတၢ်သံကွၢ်နှဉ်သ့စ့ၢ်ကီးလီၤ. ပှၤလၢအစံးဆၢတၢ်သံကွၢ်အံၤတဂၤစုာ်စုာ်ကဒိးန့ၢ်ဘဉ်ဝဲ (၅) ဒီလဉ် **(gift card)** နှဉ်လီၤ. တၢ်ကဲဘျုးလၢအဂုာ်အဂၤဒုတအိဉ်နိမံၤဘဉ်.

တၢ်သံကွၢ်တဖဉ်တမ့ၢ်တၢ်ဃုသ့ဉ်ညါနီၢ်ကစၢ်တဂၤအဂ့ၢ်, တၢ်လၢအလိၤပျံၤလီၤဘဉ်ယိာ်ဒိး ထံရူၢ်ကိၢ်သဲးအဂ့ၢ်အကျိၤတဖဉ်ဘဉ်. ကွိဖိတနီၤရ့အတံၤသကိးတန့ၢ်ညီညီဘဉ်. လၢတၢ်နှဉ်အဃိတၢ်သံကွၢ် တနီၤဘဉ်ဃးဒိးတံၤသကိးနှဉ် ကကဲထိဉ်တၢ်တမုာ်တလၤလၢအဂိၢ်နှဉ်လီၤ. ထဲဇဉ်တၢ်တမံၤအံၤကကဲထိဉ်တၢ်သံကွၢ်လၢအခံးလၢအဝဲသ့ဉ်အဂိၢ်နှဉ်လီၤ. ပှၤတသ့ဉ်ညါနဖိအတၢ်စံးဆၢနီတဂၤဘဉ်. မ့ၢ်လၢအဝဲသ့ဉ်တဟ့ဉ်လီၤအအမံၤလၤတၢ်ဃုသ့ဉ်ညါတဘျိအဃိနှဉ်လီၤ. ဖဲနဖိစံးဆၢတၢ်သံကွၢ်အံၤဝံၤပျဲအဝဲသ့ဉ်လၢကပံးသံကွံာ်တၢ်ဃုသ့ဉ်ညါတဘျိအံၤန့ဉ်တကွၢ်.

နမ့ၢ်အိဉ်ဖိးတၢ်သံကွၢ်ဘဉ်ဃးတၢ်ဂ့ၢ်အံၤ, ဆဲးကျိးဘဉ် **Lucy Lewis (ldlewis2@uncg.edu)** လိတဲစိနီၢ်ဂံၢ် (၄၃၄-၅၆၀-၅၁၂၇) မ့တမ့ၢ် **Dr. Kelly Wester (klwester@uncg.edu)** တၢ်သံကွၢ် အဂၤဘဉ်ဃးတၢ်ဃုသ့ဉ်ညါတၢ်ဂ့ၢ်အံၤဆဲးကျိးဘဉ်ဖိး **Cristy McGoff (Office of Research Compliance at UNCG) (855-251-2351)**

တၢ်ဘျုး
Lucy Lewis

နမ့ၢ် **Click** လၢ **Accept** နှဉ်တၢ်သံကွၢ်တဖဉ်ကဟဲထိဉ်လၢနဖိအဂိၢ်ဖိးတကတီၢ်ဃီယသ့ဉ်ညါလၢနဖးလံာ် အံၤဝံၤဒိးအၢဉ်လီၤတူၢ်လိာ်လၢအဝဲသ့ဉ်ကဟ်ဃုာ်ဟ်ဂိၢ်လၢတၢ်စံးဆၢတၢ်သံကွၢ်တဘျိအံၤအဂိၢ်ဖိး နမ့ၢ်မိၢ် ပၢ်ဖိးပှၤကွၢ်ထွဲကွိဖိလၢမၤစၢၤလၢတၢ်မၤလိတဘျိအံၤန့ဉ်လီၤ. လၢနကဟ်ကီၤအဂိၢ်နှ **Print** ထိဉ်သ့နှဉ်လီၤ.

UNCG IRB
Approved Consent Form
Valid 9/26/12 to 9/25/13

APPENDIX E

RECRUITMENT POST

THE UNIVERSITY of NORTH CAROLINA
GREENSBORO

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED FOR ONLINE RESEARCH STUDY

to learn more about how Karen high school students use the computer for friendships and how this helps at school

If you want to participate then:

- First, answer questions about Facebook and Facebook Friends
- Then, receive a $5 gift card to Target

In order to participate you must:

- Identify as Karen
- In the United States for 1-6 years
- Currently in high school
- Complete a survey that will take about 40 minutes of your time

FOR MORE INFORMATION CLICK ON THIS LINK (http://tinyurl.com/karen1fb) AND/OR EMAIL LUCY LEWIS AT ldlewis2@uncg.edu. The survey will be available for one week.